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TRANSACTIONS

of the

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1929

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Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 9-10, 1929

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

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CONTENTS

Officers of the Society 5
Editorial Note 7
Constitution of the Illinois State Historical Society 8
An Appeal to the Historical Society and the General Public 11

PART I.

Record of Official Proceedings, Annual Meeting, May 9-10, 1929 13
Directors' Meeting 15
Business Meeting 17
Secretary's Report 24
Report of Genealogical Committee 29

PART II.

Papers read at the Annual Meeting, May 9-10, 1929 37-184
President Albert Britt, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. Truth Telling—A Difficult and Dangerous Art 39
Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Indian Diplomacy During the Revolution in the West 47
William E. Barton, D. D., Litt. D. The Lincoln of the Biographers ... 58
Professor Arthur H. Hirsch, Ohio Wesleyan University. Historical Values in the Mid-Century Literature of the Middle West 117
Mrs. Clara Halbert Needles. Judge William Henry Underwood, Senator from St. Clair County, 1856-1865 and 1870 126
Professor Olynthus Clark, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. Joseph Joder, Schoolmaster-Farmer and Poet, 1797-1887 135
Professor George M. Stephenson, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Stormy Years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the Great Fire 166

PART III. CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE HISTORY.

Kinnie A. Ostewig. Life of Shadrach Bond, the first Governor of Illinois under Statehood 187
List of Publications of the Illinois State Historical Society and Library 235
Index 237

OFFICERS

of the

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May, 1929—May, 1930

President

Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

Vice Presidents

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg
L. Y. Sherman.....Daytona Beach, Fla.
Richard Yates.....Springfield
Evarts Boutell Greene.....New York City
John McAuley Palmer.....Washington, D. C.
John H. Hauberg.....Rock Island
George W. Smith.....Carbondale

Board of Directors

Charles H. Rammelkamp.....Jacksonville
Andrew Russel.....Jacksonville
J. A. James.....Evanston
Ira W. Allen.....LaGrange
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
H. J. Patten.....Evanston
Logan Hay.....Springfield
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Lincoln Weldon.....Bloomington
Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield
Thomas Rees.....Springfield
Joseph B. Oakleaf.....Moline
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Frederic Siedenburg, S. J.....Chicago

Secretary-Treasurer

Miss Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "Contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois Historical Collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences at their best are an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion, it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors, and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticisms as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

§ 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which Board the President of the Society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

§ 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a Secretary and Treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable and to remove the same at pleasure.

§ 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

§ 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed, and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State, and of each county thereof, including the prehistoric periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants, together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt By-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

§ 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

§ 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither President nor Vice President shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a President *pro tempore.*

§ 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finance of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

§ 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of an initiation fee of not less than $2, and the payment thereafter of annual dues of not less than $2, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

§ 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of $25 be admitted as a life member, with all the privileges of an active member, and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

§ 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events may, upon the recommendation of the

Board of Directors, be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society, who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office. But nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

§ 5. Persons not active nor life members, but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

§ 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

§ 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

§ 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

§ 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided,* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY

(Members please read this circular letter)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography, and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian Tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Co-operative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies; Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion and the wars with the Indians; privately printed Works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins; Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; Materials for Illinois History; old Letters, Journals.

2. Manuscripts; Narratives of the Pioneers of Illinois; Original Papers on the Early History and Settlement of the Territory; Adventures and Conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great Rebellion, or other wars; Biographies of the Pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every County either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs, a sketch of the settlement of every Township, Village, and Neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois History.

3. City Ordinances, Proceedings of Mayor and Council; Reports of Committees of Council; Pamphlets or Papers of any kind printed by authority of the City; Reports of Boards of Trade; Maps of cities and Plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; Annual Reports of Societies; Sermons and Addresses delivered in the State; Minutes of Church Conventions, Synods, or other Ecclesiastical Bodies of Illinois; Political Addresses; Railroad Reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of Colleges and other Institutions of Learning; Annual or other Reports of School Boards, School Superin-

tendents, and School Committees; Educational Pamphlets, Programs and Papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier Laws; Journals and Reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' Messages and Reports of State Officers; Reports of State Charitable and other State Institutions.

7. Files of Illinois Newspapers and Magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of Counties or Townships, of any date; Views and Engravings of buildings or historic places; Drawings or Photographs of scenery; Paintings; Portraits, etc., connected with Illinois History.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; Coins; Medals; Paintings; Portraits; Engravings; Statuary; War Relics; Autograph Letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian Tribes—their History, Characteristics, Religion, etc.; Sketches of prominent Chiefs, Orators and Warriors, together with contributions of Indian Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments, Curiosities, and Implements; also Stone Axes, Spears, Arrow Heads, Pottery, or other relics. It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1929

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1929

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Lincoln Room of the Library at 9:00 o'clock, A. M., May 10, 1929.

Present: Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President; Mr. John H. Hauberg; Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp; Rev. Ira W. Allen; Dr. Theodore C. Pease; Mr. Thomas Rees; Mr. Joseph B. Oakleaf; Dr. J. A. James and Miss Georgia L. Osborne.

At the President's request, Mr. John H. Hauberg, Vice-President presided.

The reading of the minutes of the previous meeting (1928) was dispensed with on account of the same having been published in book form, and they were approved as printed.

The report of the Secretary, Miss Osborne, was then read, and Mr. Rees moved that same be received and filed and referred to the general Society. The motion was seconded by Dr. Schmidt and carried.

Mr. Allen presented a resolution in regard to the changes which are to be made at the Lincoln Monument and which he stated he would present to the Society as a whole. After discussion by several of the directors, Dr. Schmidt moved that this resolution be recommended for favorable action to the general Society. The motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Schmidt moved that the Chairman appoint a Committee to draft resolutions on the death of Mr. Ensley Moore, a former Vice-President of the Society and the following Committee was appointed: Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp; Professor J. A. James and Dr. Theodore C. Pease.

On request of the Secretary, Mr. Allen moved that the reading of the Genealogical report be dispensed with as it will be printed in the next report of the Society. The motion was seconded and carried.

The report of the Treasurer, Miss Osborne, was then read. Dr. Rammelkamp moved that it be received and presented to the whole Society for action. The motion was seconded by Dr. Schmidt and carried.

Mr. Rees made a motion that on the non-payment of dues for two years, the name be dropped from the Society, after being properly notified. The motion was seconded by Mr. Allen and after considerable discussion was adopted.

The Secretary read a communication from the Delaware Historical Society at Wilmington, Delaware, in regard to James Harrison Wilson, a General in the Civil War, and a brother of Bluford Wilson. Dr. J. A. James moved that the communication be submitted to the Society as a

whole and a proper resolution be prepared to carry out the intention of same. Mr. Allen seconded the motion and it was carried.

Chairman Hauberg read a telegram from the Joliet Chamber of Commerce inviting the Society to hold its next meeting in that city. After considerable discussion it was decided that the President should answer the representative from Joliet who was present, at the general meeting of the Society and that the by-laws provided that the meeting of the Society shall not be held outside of Springfield.

The Secretary stated that Mrs. Sara John English of Jacksonville was visiting old country cemeteries in different counties in the State for the purpose of resurrecting old inscriptions, and that she was presenting them to the Historical Library in typewritten form, and asked to be reimbursed for her traveling expenses while so engaged. After discussion, Dr. Rammelkamp moved that she be reimbursed for traveling expenses only, not including hotel expenses, etc. The motion was properly seconded and adopted.

The Chairman read a communication from Belleville in regard to the Lincoln Pilgrimage.

Mr. Rees stated that the University of Illinois has adopted a College of Journalism as one of its courses, and at the last annual meeting in October a Committee was appointed to set up a so-called Hall of Fame containing bronze statues of leading Journalists of the State of Illinois, and they recommended for their first cluster, those of Mr. Lovejoy, Joseph Medill McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, H. W. Clendenin of the State Register and Mr. Lawson of the Chicago News.

This was given as a matter of information and no action was necessary on the part of the Directors.

Mr. Oakleaf made the motion that Mr. Edward W. Payne be appointed on the Committee for a proper memorial to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, former Secretary of the Historical Society, in place of Mr. Clendenin, deceased. The motion was seconded by Dr. James and carried.

There being no further business to come before the Directors, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 10, 1929, AT 10:00 A. M., AUDITORIUM, ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL BUILDING

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was called to order at 10:00 A. M. in the Auditorium of the Centennial Building at Springfield, Illinois, and Mr. John H. Hauberg, Vice-President, was appointed by the President to act as Chairman of the meeting.

The Chairman called for a report from the Committee, consisting of Dr. J. A. James, Dr. Theodore C. Pease and the Chairman, Mr. John H. Hauberg, who were appointed to meet with a joint Commission or National Commission in Indianapolis, Indiana, on February 25, 1929. Dr. James presented a report, stating that the Committee met in Indianapolis with the National Committee and considered the erection of a suitable memorial at Vincennes, Indiana, in honor of George Rogers Clark. He stated that the State of Indiana had already appropriated $450,000 for the purpose of the site, and the Government of the United States appropriated a million dollars for such a memorial. He said it was planned that the states of the Northwest Territory would each appropriate $200,000. As Dr. Schmidt was more familiar with the project, he was asked by Dr. James to supplement his report.

Dr. Schmidt stated that the Illinois Legislature found certain things had to be taken care of in Illinois first, and one was the Lincoln Tomb which is requiring immediate repair. Also, the preservation of Lincoln Memorials in the city, and that they passed a bill appropriating $200,000 for the repair of the Lincoln Tomb, so that it will be more dignified and reverential in every way. He described the present Tomb and the proposed alterations of the same.

He, also, stated that a Committee of Legislators was appointed and agreed that if any money could be spared, George Rogers Clark deserved a remembrance from Illinois directly as there were only a few monuments in the State to his memory, one at Quincy, one at Herrin and one at Chester, made by a prisoner. They believed a proper memorial should be erected at Kaskaskia. He stated that when the bridge was built, Illinois would take care of her half of the same. Dr. Schmidt described the location of Fort Gage, and the purchasing of the site for same, and agreed that a proper memorial should be placed there.

He stated that we should leave the appropriating of the money for the Clark Memorial to the present administration because they have a budget and have shown they are interested in historical places.

Mr. Nick Perrin made a motion that a Nominating Committee be appointed. The motion was properly seconded and a Committee appointed as follows: Mrs. I. G. Miller, Chairman; Mrs. Isabel Jamison

and Dr. Theodore C. Pease. They were asked to retire and prepare their report.

It was ordered by the Chairman, that the minutes of the 1928 annual meeting be approved as printed.

Mr. Oakleaf moved that the reading of the Secretary's report for 1928 be dispensed with as Miss Osborne had previously read the same to the Board of Directors and it was approved by them, and same will appear in published form. The motion was seconded by Mr. Allen and carried.

The Chairman presented the matter of the raising of the dues from one dollar to two dollars per annum and stated that thirty days' notice had been given. Mr. Nelson moved that the dues be raised from one dollar to two dollars and Dr. Schmidt seconded the motion. The motion was adopted.

Mr. James Bell, member of the Chamber of Commerce of Joliet, presented an invitation from that body, for the Historical Society to hold its next annual meeting in Joliet.

President Schmidt stated that the by-laws provided that the annual meetings of the Society should not be held outside of Springfield, but if the Society would consider holding special meetings, he was in favor of their being held in various interesting points in the State, as it would be of benefit to the members of the Society. He spoke of the attractions at Joliet and expressed his regret at not being able to accept the invitation. He suggested that a special meeting be held every two or three years at some interesting spot.

Mr. Oakleaf moved that a Committee of three be appointed to consider holding special meetings, one of whom should be from Will County. Mr. Miller seconded the motion. The motion was carried, the Committee to be appointed by the Chairman.

Mr. Allen presented the following resolution, and moved that the same be adopted:

"WHEREAS, it has come to the attention of the Illinois State Historical Society that changes are to be made at the Lincoln monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery; and

"WHEREAS, the proposed changes are all for the improvement of the monument and for a more seemly and reverent remembrance of the heroic dead there entombed; and

"WHEREAS, the changes are due to the patriotic and large-hearted action of his Excellency, Governor Emmerson, and H. H. Cleaveland, Superintendent of the Department of Public Works and Buildings of our State; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, that these gentlemen be thanked for their activity in behalf of a more beautiful monument and of surroundings that speak more reverently of Illinois' most distinguished son; that these remarks be spread upon the records of our Society and that copies be sent to the Governor and Mr. Cleaveland."

Mr. Rees seconded the motion and same was carried.

President Schmidt then made a motion that Mr. Edward W. Payne of Springfield, be appointed to take the place of Mr. Clendenin, deceased, as Chairman of the Committee on a memorial for the former secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber. The motion was seconded and carried.

President Schmidt then presented Joint Resolution No. 37 for action by the Society, which provided for the proper preservation of Lin-

coln memorials. After considerable discussion, President Schmidt moved that the Administration be commended for this action. Motion seconded by Mr. Oakleaf and carried.

President Schmidt moved that a Committee be appointed to draft resolutions on the death of former Vice-President Ensley Moore. The motion was seconded by Dr. Pease and carried, and the following Committee was appointed: Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp, President of Illinois College, Dr. Theodore C. Pease and Dr. J. A. James. It was further suggested by Mr. Oakleaf, that the resolution be printed in the Annual Proceedings.

Representative Waller of the Legislature presented the following resolution for consideration by the Society:

"WHEREAS, the State of Illinois has bought the tract of land on which the old fort overlooking Kaskaskia, now destroyed, but which was located near the mouth of the Okaw River, but earlier known as the Kaskaskia River; and

"WHEREAS, Fort Gage was in the lowland in Kaskaskia and the fort on the hill to the east, overlooking Kaskaskia, is shown by the earliest maps and by an overwhelming amount of concurrent history to have long been known as 'Fort Caskaskia' or 'Ft. de Cascasquias'; and

"WHEREAS, by reason of some error among some of our later writers, Fort Caskaskia has been so frequently misnamed Fort Gage; and

"WHEREAS, it is the duty of this Society to use its influence to have the history of our State transmitted correctly to succeeding generations; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, that we request the Department of Public Works and Buildings to put a permanent marker on the site of Fort Caskasquia to read as follows:

"ON THIS SPOT STOOD FORT KASKASKIA
(or Fort Caskaskia)

BUILT BY THE FRENCH

1733

AND DESTROYED BY THEM

1766."

Mr. Allen moved that the resolution be passed. Dr. Schmidt objected to the spelling of Kaskaskia and said it should be spelled with a "K" instead of a "C" as suggested by Representative Waller. Representative Waller agreed to the change, but also suggested that the word be spelled with a "C" in parenthesis underneath. Dr. Pease moved that a resolution be drawn asking the Legislature to change the name of the station and the post office at that location from Fort Gage to Kaskaskia. Dr. Schmidt seconded the motion and same was carried.

Father Siedenburg then made a motion that the Society request the Legislature to have the town and post office called Kaskaskia instead of Fort Gage. Mr. W. H. Jackson seconded the motion and same was carried.

The Nominating Committee was asked to report. Mrs. I. G. Miller, Chairman, reported that the following officers had been nominated and asked that the report of the Nominating Committee be adopted:

President

Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

Vice-Presidents

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg
L. Y. Sherman.....Daytona Beech, Fla.
Richard Yates.....Springfield
Evarts Boutell Greene.....New York City
John McAuley Palmer.....Washington, D. C.
John H. Hauberg.....Rock Island
George W. Smith.....Carbondale

Board of Directors

Charles H. Rammelkamp.....Jacksonville
Andrew Russel.....Jacksonville
J. A. James.....Evanston
Ira W. Allen.....LaGrange
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
H. J. Patten.....Evanston
Logan Hay.....Springfield
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Lincoln Weldon.....Bloomington
Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield
Thomas Rees.....Springfield
Joseph B. Oakleaf.....Moline
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Frederic Siedenburg, S. J.....Chicago

Secretary-Treasurer

Miss Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield

Honorary Vice-Presidents

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois

Rev. David Nelson of Virginia seconded the motion and same was adopted.

Chairman Hauberg then asked for the reports of the different Historical Societies of the State which were represented at the meeting and they were given as follows:

J. Nick Perrin, St. Clair County.

J. B. Oakleaf, Rock Island County.

Mr. John S. Little, Rushville, Schuyler County.

Dr. O. L. Schmidt, Chicago Historical Society.

Mrs. I. G. Miller and Mrs. Isabel Jamison told of the activities of the Chautauqua Association in Sangamon County, as they have no historical society. Mr. Jackson of Stark County told of their Old Settlers' Association which was doing such an interesting work.

There being no further business to come before the Society, a motion to adjourn was in order.

REPORT FROM ROCK ISLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

To the State Historical Society, at its Annual Meeting, Springfield Illinois:

Officers

J. B. Oakleaf, Moline, Ill., Vice-President and Acting President.
Mrs. Grace R. Sweeney, Rock Island, Ill., Secretary.
Mrs. Edna Tucker, Rock Island, Ill., Treasurer.
John H. Hauberg, Rock Island, Ill., Curator.

Directors

E. O. Vaile, David Sears, Mrs. K. T. Anderson, Mrs. Harry Ainsworth, Rev. J. E. Cummings, C. R. Chamberlain.
There are two vacancies in the Directorship, namely: S. W. Searle and Arthur Burrall, who have passed to the Great Beyond.

We do not have regular meetings, but we meet frequently here and there—that is, a few of us. We are connected with all the Societies of an historical nature in Rock Island County, for instance—The Rock Island County Old Settlers Association; Rock Island Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution; Moline Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and Chapter of Sons of American Revolution, as our officers and directors have some connection with each of those societies.

We are now contemplating having a permanent building at the Black Hawk State Park at Rock Island as a museum and for taking care of valuable pictures and papers.

Our curator is always adding to our historical importance. Through the Old Settlers Association, we have placed a large boulder, weighing more than two tons, taken from the State Park grounds, on a solid granite and concrete foundation, upon which will be placed a bronze plate in honor of the Rock River Rangers, and the boulder is placed at the spot where the battery stood in June, 1831, in the State Park grounds, when the United States Regulars, supported by the Rock River Rangers, drove the Indians out of their hiding places.

The rotunda of our Court House is filled with wall cases put there through the munificence of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Hauberg, which are an everlasting source of pleasure to those who visit the Court House.

Since our last meeting, our good friend, Phil Mitchell, has passed to the Great Beyond, after many years of a useful and very active life.

Our annual meeting will be held very soon, when new officers will be elected.

Rushville, Ill., April 28, 1929.

My Dear Mr. Oakleaf:

We had a meeting Friday evening and perfected a County Historical organization with the following officers:

President, John S. Little.

Vice-President, Fred Jackson.

Secretary and Treasurer, Howard F. Dyson.

Directors, Thos. W. Sweeney, L. H. Byrns and Mrs. J. C. Graff.

All the officers represent families that came to Schuyler County in the thirties, with the exception of Mr. Byrns, whom you will remember as circuit clerk and a member of the party that visited the Dorsey grave.

Mr. Jackson's father came to Schuyler in 1829, so you see we have representative officers.

We expect to accomplish something through this organization in the way of collecting and preserving historical documents and data. However, it will be late in the summer before I can give it my personal attention and accompanying publicity through The Times as my wife and I are sailing May 16th for a three or four months' visit in England with side trip on the continent.

Mr. Little will attend the State meeting of the Historical Society at Springfield next week and it may be possible for me to get over one day, even though we leave on Saturday on our trip.

Yours very truly,

Howard F. Dyson.

To the Illinois State Historical Society, Greetings:

The Historical Association of St. Clair County is carrying on the work of preserving such historical data as is worthy of preservation. The Old Record Room in the Court House bears witness thereto for therein are preserved the very earliest civil records pertaining to the Illinois country and the Mississippi Valley.

St. Clair County was organized in 1790 by Gov. St. Clair of the Northwest Territory and was the first county in Illinois.

As a discussion and questioning has been going on in the press and among historical and civic societies as to what is the most historic spot in our State, our association is impelled to come to the rescue and settle once for all the mooted point. We believe that inasmuch as the most important, decisive historic event in the history of the universe is the Creation, so we further insist that the discovery of the Illinois Country, the Illinois Indians and the Illinois River is the most important and decisive event in our Illinois history. As this took place when Marquette, Joliet and their five companions entered the mouth of the Illinois River in 1673, we strenuously insist that the site where they entered is entitled to this honor of claiming precedence over all subsequently discovered places and all subsequent events. This site is where Grafton is now located at the junction of the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers. This is almost in the shadow of the monument erected to the champion of human liberty (Elijah P. Lovejoy), which stands on Alton's highest hilltop, proclaiming liberty to all the world.

J. Nick Perrin, *President.*

E. W. Plegge, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Adopted by our Association at Belleville, Illinois, May 5, 1929.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 10, 1929

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Gentlemen: I beg to present to you my report as Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society from May 11, 1928, to May 10, 1929.

Our Society continues to grow, although we make no canvass for membership, owing to the fact that our dues are so small and the expense of printing and sending out our publications increases each year and the nominal sum of one dollar per annum for membership does not begin to cover expenses; still, as above stated, the Society continues to grow. We have adopted the plan of dropping members who have not paid their dues for a period of five years. This, together with the death rate last year, has decreased our membership somewhat, but the loss is more than made up by the number of new members from Maine to California who apply for membership in the Society. These members in a great many cases are former Illinoisans who have left their home State, but desire to be identified with its history, and most appreciative letters are received by your Secretary for the gift of the Society's publications, especially volumes of the Journal, and where we can supply it the "Browning Diary," and all are looking forward to the second volume of this most interesting contribution to our Lincolniana.

In the way of purchase of original manuscripts, letters, etc., we continue our search. You will find in Publication No. 35, Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1928, as a contribution to State history, "The Diary and Letters of Major James Austin Connolly, 1862-1864," with an introduction by Frank K. Dunn, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois. We own the original manuscript diary.

LETTERS

Original letter, Stephen A. Douglas to George N. Sanders, dated April 15, 1852; letter, William H. Herndon, dated February 11, 1860, relative to a fugitive slave; letter, Colonel W. H. S. Wallace, dated Camp Hardin, Villa Ridge, May 8, 1861, addressed to Major John B. Wyman; letter book of War Governor Richard Yates when he was a member of Congress; Stephen A. Douglas's oath as Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court; collection of Brigham Young and other Mormon letters to Daniel Webster on the loss of their charter at Nauvoo; unpublished original manuscript of G. Cadwallader's "Four Years with Grant," dated June, 1896. Commission of James M. Rice as aide-de-camp with rank of captain, from April 5, 1862, signed by Abraham Lincoln and Edward Stanton, Secretary of War, dated July 30, 1862. Letter in handwriting

of Abraham Lincoln from Pekin, Illinois, May 12, 1853, addressed to Joshua R. Stanford. A collection of Pioneer letters of Sibil Piper and Betsy Lincoln.

PUBLICATIONS

The second volume of the Browning Diary is still in the hands of the printer. The volume on the Territorial Laws of Indiana will soon be issued. Doctor and Mrs. Pease have contributed towards Illinois' part in the sesqui-centennial of the George Rogers Clark celebration, a small volume issued by the Illinois State Historical Library, "The Sesqui-Centennial Clark Memorial," which we hope will be ready for distribution within a few weeks.

The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society is now in its twenty-second volume, No. 1, April, 1929.

The Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1928 will be ready for distribution within a short time, if not already distributed by the time this report is issued. Some delay has been occasioned owing to some of our speakers last year being slow in returning their manuscripts. This delays the reading of the proof and making an index for the volume.

NEWSPAPER FILES

As many of you will recall, the file of the Illinois State Journal lacks the first half of 1860. It is said that Nicolay and Hay used it when compiling their life of Lincoln. The only complete file of the first half of 1860 is in the Chicago Historical Society. Doctor Schmidt, our President, has taken up the matter of having a photostat of this file made, with the Chicago Historical Society. As soon as the business manager of the Illinois State Journal returns to Springfield, we will consult with him and see if the Journal—as long as it is their file—will not cooperate with us in having this file complete.

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT

Each mail brings to this department many inquiries for material on family history and other inquiries of a like nature from other departments of the State are turned over to us and a large share of our time is taken up with research along this line.

Recently I had a letter from Rogers Park with regard to having old cemetery records copied and suggesting that some one in each village and town be interested in making a careful survey of these places and listing all inscriptions, to be published later in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society. This work is well begun by Mrs. Sara John English of Jacksonville, who made many pilgrimages to old abandoned cemeteries in Morgan, Cass and other counties in the State. We have made typewritten copies of these and they can be consulted in the Library.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY

Through the interest of Mr. W. S. Stout, head of the Canadian Pacific Express Company at Toronto, there has recently been presented to the Library a ring given to Joseph Medill by Abraham Lincoln. This ring was owned by Mrs. George McAvity of St. Johns, New Brunswick, who inherited it from an uncle in New York. Mrs. McAvity passed on last September, but the ring was sent to the Library by Mr. McAvity in December and is a valuable addition to our Lincoln collection.

Mr. James Rosenthal of Chicago has given the Library another valuable Lincoln picture, which adds one more to the many gifts along this line Mr. Rosenthal has from time to time donated to the Library.

Mr. Robert D. Loose of Springfield has added to our pioneer collection a photograph of the log cabin erected in Springfield by Washington Iles in 1822. We solicit contributions of this nature, along with photographs and daguerreotypes of the pioneers.

We are indebted to Mr. W. E. Fithian of Danville for the contribution of a valuable original Lincoln letter. The letter is to Doctor Fithian of Danville, Illinois, dated Springfield, Illinois, August 15, 1860, and signed by Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Isaac R. Diller has presented to us a framed picture of Hon. John Calhoun, Mayor of Springfield, 1849, 1850 and 1851. This will be a valuable addition to our collection of pioneer pictures.

Mrs. Olive Oglesby Snider has presented to the Library a cape worn by her mother, Anne Elizabeth White Oglesby, wife of Governor Richard James Oglesby, to the inaugural ball in 1864.

CATALOGING

The cataloging of our books goes on daily and much progress is being made. We use the Library of Congress cards when available, which facilitates the work of the cataloger. Our valuable letters and other manuscripts are being cataloged also, and several thousand cards have been made, which is a great help to students looking for original source material.

MENDING OF LINCOLN AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

The work of mending our Lincoln manuscripts, letters, etc., is still in progress and most of the early Sangamon County records have been mended and the next step is having them suitably bound, so that they will be accessible to the public. This work has been carefully and creditably done and in their present condition they will be preserved indefinitely.

MEMBERSHIP

From the list you will see that heavy toll has been taken of our membership, but as we stated earlier in the report, new members are constantly being added, which still makes our Society one of the largest in point of membership in the United States.

MEMBERS WHOSE DEATHS HAVE BEEN REPORTED SINCE LAST ANNUAL MEETING

Palmer E. Anderson, Chicago, April, 1928.
George M. Brinkerhoff, Springfield, September 9, 1929.
Charles Nelson Bishop, Chicago.
James Edgar Brown, Chicago, January 27, 1929.
L. C. Blanding, Moline, January 5, 1929.
Mrs. Mary Turner Carriel, Jacksonville, June 10, 1928.
C. B. Cole, Chester, March 13, 1928.
Orrin N. Carter, Oak Park, August 15, 1928.
Thomas Condell, Springfield, April 4, 1929.
J. Seymour Currey, Evanston, December 25, 1928.
Frederick DeLang, Glencoe, October 10, 1927.
Frederick C. Denkmann, Rock Island, February 13, 1929.
Charles L. Fifield, Janesville, Wis., August 8, 1928.
Rev. Richard E. Fox, Gibson City, January 7, 1929.
John M. Glenn, Chicago, April 22, 1928.
M. C. Goodsill, Galesburg, 1928.
C. F. Hildreth, Freeport, 1928.
B. A. Harvey, Mt. Carmel, November 27, 1927.
Frank N. Ireland, Washburn, December 28, 1928.
Dr. Charles B. Johnson, Champaign, May 31, 1928.
Arthur B. Jones, Evanston, February, 1927.
Dr. C. M. Johnson, Harvard, June 24, 1928.
Thomas Kennedy, Normal, December 23, 1928.
Martin L. Keplinger, Carlinville, January 10, 1929.
Mrs. A. B. Macpherson, Springfield, January 8, 1929.
Phil Mitchell, Rock Island, November 6, 1928.
Albert A. Moore, East Oakland, Cal., June 6, 1928.
Ensley Moore, Jacksonville, January 10, 1929.
Mrs. Ensley Moore, Jacksonville, January 19, 1929.
G. W. Morton, Beardstown, October 4, 1928.
Mrs. Richard J. Oglesby, Elkhart, November 25, 1928.
E. H. Scott, Chicago, October 3, 1928.
Mrs. Paul Selby, Springfield, May 14, 1928.
DeWitt Smith, Springfield, January 23, 1929.
A. Swanzy, Princeton, August 8, 1928.
W. L. Velie, Moline, October, 1928.

VISITORS

We have no way of estimating all our visitors, as this would necessitate a constant attendant at the door. We have a visitors' book on the Lincoln desk and many sign. We have many delegations from schools; patriotic and civic societies are with us each week throughout the year, but all delegates do not sign the book.

PRIZE ESSAY CONTEST

The gold medal for the best essay in the State on Historic Churches in Illinois was won by Miss Margaret Katherine Schnapp of Tallula, who wrote on the Rock Creek Presbyterian Church, which celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in 1912 and is still in existence, a fine example of a community church, kept up by descendants of the original membership of the church. The presentation of this medal was made at the birthday observance of the State on December 3d by Mrs. William Jackson Sweeney, State Regent of the Illinois Society, D. A. R. The topic for this year's contest is "Old Mills in Illinois." Already we are receiving these essays. The first one so far submitted is from Wabash County and quite an interest is aroused on this important and interesting subject.

These, gentlemen, I believe cover the activities of the department for the past year, and I wish to express to you my deep appreciation of the help at all times you have given me and my co-workers.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Our workers in the Library and correspondence by mail along genealogical lines continue to grow, and as often stated in these reports, it required the time for research work of several of our assistants in looking up this material, not counting the work of the typist.

Most appreciative letters have been received by us in regard to our valuable help and information to their inquiries. As your Chairman is also custodian of the records of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution, much information has been received in the way of documents and papers sent in by various Chapters of the D. A. R., which can be referred to, and is of great assistance to persons looking up family histories, old Bible and cemetery records.

The list of acquisitions is as follows:

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, COMPILED BY STATES

Alabama State. A Brief History of Baldwin County, Alabama. By L. J. Comings and Martha M. Albers. 91 pp. Pub. Fairhope, Ala., Baldwin County Historical Society. 1928.

Connecticut State. Early Connecticut Marriages. Prior to 1800. By Frederic W. Bailey. Vols. 1-5. Pub. Hartford, Conn., Bureau of American Ancestry. 1896-1902.

Connecticut State. History of Connecticut. By George L. Clark. 609 pp. New York City, C. P. Putnam. 1914.

Connecticut State. Births, marriages and deaths of Newton, Conn., 1704-1850. By Mrs. W. A. Barber. 158 pp. Typed copy. No date.

Georgia State. Annals of Georgia. By Caroline Prue Wilson. 366 pp. Richmond, Va., The Grafton Press. 1928.

Georgia State. Columbus, Georgia, 1827-1865. By John H. Martin. 196 pp. Pub. Columbus, Ga., Thomas Gilbert, 1874.

Georgia State. Historic Georgia Families. By L. W. Rigsby. 81 pp. No Pub. No place. 1928.

Georgia State. Revolutionary Soldiers' Receipts for Georgia Bounty Grants. By Ruth Blair. 85 pp. Pub. Atlanta, Georgia, by Foote and Davis. 1928.

Illinois State. Deerfield. History of Deerfield, Ill. By Marie Ward Reichelt. 215 pp. Pub. Glenview, Ill., the Glenview Press. 1928.

Illinois State. Early History of Fox River Valley. By George Gary. 267 pp. Pub. Oshkosh, Wis., Times Pub. Co. No date.

Illinois State. Early Marriage Records, State of Illinois. By Electa Ball Spangler. Typed copy. Illinois State Society, D. A. R. 1928.

Illinois State. Glen Ellyn. Story of an Old Town. Compiled by Ada Douglas Harmon. 208 pp. Pub. Glen Ellyn, Ill., Anan Harmon Chapter, D. A. R. 1928.

Illinois State. Kane County. Atlas, Kane County, 1872. 91 pp. Pub. Thompson and Everts. Geneva, Ill. 1872.

Illinois State. Logan County Biographical Record. 654 pp. Pub. S. J. Clarke, Chicago, Ill. 1901.

Illinois State. Montgomery County, Illinois, Records. By Mabel Beeman. Unpaged. Typed copy. 1928.

Illinois State. Montgomery County. Past and Present of Montgomery County, Ill. By Jacob L. Traylor. 768 pp. Pub. Chicago, Ill., S. J. Clarke Co. 1904.

Illinois State. Past and Present of Menard County. By R. D. Miller. 549 pp. Pub. Chicago, Ill., S. J. Clarke. 1905.

Illinois State. Savanna. The Story of Savanna, Illinois. By Alice M. Bowen. 122 pp. Pub. Savanna, Ill., Times-Journal. 1928.

Illinois State. Warren, Ill. A History of Warren, Ill. By May Hawley Carson. 79 pp. n. p. 1928.

Indiana State. History of Allen County, Ind. By T. B. Helm. 188 pp. Pub. Chicago, Ill., Kingman Bros. 1880.

Kentucky State. Johnson County, Ky. By Mitchel Hall. 2 vols. pp. 552-708. Pub. Louisville, Ky., Standard Press. 1928.

Kentucky State. History of Lexington, Ky. By George W. Ranck. 428 pp. Pub. Cincinnati, Ohio, R. Clarke & Co. 1872.

Maine State. History of Cumberland County, Maine. 456 pp. Pub. Philadelphia, Pa., Everts and Peck. 1880.

Maine State. Harpswell. Historic Harpswell. By Charles N. Sinnett. 19 pp. Pub. Haverhill, Mass., C. C. Morse & Son. 1903.

Maine State. Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire. By Charles Thornton Libby. 72 pp. Pub. Portland, Me., Southworth Press. 1928.

Maine State. Paris, Maine. History of Paris, Maine. By Wm. B. Lapham and Silas P. Maxim. 816 pp. Pub. Paris, Me., for the authors. 1884.

Maine State. Wayne, Maine. History of the Town of Wayne, Maine. 354 pp. Pub. Augusta, Maine, Farmer Pub. Co. 1898.

Maryland State. History of Allegany County, Maryland. By James W. Thomas and T. J. C. Williams. 2 vols. Pub. Cumberland(?), Md., L. R. Titsworth & Co. 1923.

Maryland State. Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders. By Esmeralda Boyle. 374 pp. Pub. Baltimore, Md., Kelly, Piet & Co. 1877.

Maryland State. Counties of Maryland. Scrap Book of Newspaper Clippings. 1927.

Maryland State. Narrative of Early Maryland. By Clayton Colman Hall. 460 pp. Pub. New York, N. Y., Charles Scribner's. 1925.

Maryland State. Maryland Records, Revolutionary and State. By Gaius M. Brumbaugh. 688 pp. Pub. Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster Press. 1928.

Massachusetts State. Early Massachusetts Marriages. Vol. 3. By Frederic W. Bailey. 192 pp. Worcester, Mass., F. W. Bailey.

Massachusetts State. Northfield, Massachusetts, History. By J. H. Temple and G. Sheldon. 636 pp. Pub. Albany, N. Y., Joel Munsell. 1875.

Massachusetts State. History of Raynor, Massachusetts. By Rev. Enoch Sanford. 51 pp. Pub. Providence, R. I., Hammond. 1870.

Massachusetts State. Vital Records of Rawley, Massachusetts. 537 pp. Pub. Salem, Mass., The Essex Institute. 1928.

Massachusetts State. History of Stoneham, Massachusetts. By Wm. B. Stevens. 352 pp. Pub. Stoneham, Mass., F. L. & W. E. Whittier. 1891.

New Hampshire State. History of Claremont, N. H. By Otis P. R. Waite. 540 pp. Pub. Manchester, N. H., John B. Clarke. 1895.

New Hampshire State. History of Gilsum, 1752-1879. By Silvanus Hayward. 468 pp. Pub. Manchester, N. H., J. B. Clarke Co. 1881.

New Jersey State. New Jersey Archives, first series, Vol. 33. Abstracts of Wills. 610 pp. Pub. Somerville, N. J., Committee of Colonial Documents. 1928.

New Jersey State. History of Burlington, New Jersey. By William E. Schermerhorn. 321 pp. Pub. Burlington, N. J., Enterprise Pub. Co. 1927.

New York State. Albany County. Westerlo Cemetery Inscriptions. By Mrs. W. A. Barber. 5 pp. Typed Ms. 1928.

New York State. New York Cemetery Records. By Mrs. W. A. Barber. 19 pp. Typed copy. 1923.

New York State. Orange County, New York. By Almet S. Moffat. 87 pp. Pub. Washingtonville, N. Y., by author. 1928.

New York State. Orange County. Inscriptions of Ancient Cemeteries at Graycourt, etc. By Lila James Roney. 35 pp. Typed copy. 1925.

New York State. Orange County, N. Y. Old Churches of Orange County, New York. 32 pp. Pub. Washingtonville, N. Y., the author. 1927.

New York State. Ulster County, N. Y. Gravestone Inscriptions. By Lila J. Roney. 35 and 31 pp. Typed copy. 1924.

New York State. Ulster County, N. Y. Gravestone Inscriptions of Katsbaan, Ulster County, N. Y. By Lila James Roney. 37 pp. Typed copy. 1927.

North Carolina State. Camden, N. C. Muster Roll Infantry Company. Photostat copy. 1 p.

North Carolina State. Hartford City, N. C. Colonial, State and Political History. By Benj. B. Winborne. 348 pp. Pub. Murfreesboro, N. C. By the author. 1906.

Oregon State. History of the Manokin Presbyterian Church. By Harry Pringle Ford. 355 pp. Pub. Eugene, Ore., University of Oregon Press. 1928.

Pennsylvania State. Berks County. Early Narratives of Berks County, Pa. 188 pp. Pub. Reading, Pa., Berks County Historical Society. 1927.

Pennsylvania State. Berks and Lebanon Counties History. Comp. by I. Daniel Rupp. 512 pp. Pub. Lancaster, Pa., G. Hills. 1844.

Pennsylvania State. Erie County. History of Erie County, Pa. 1006 and 239 pp. Pub. Warner, Beers and Company, Chicago, Ill. 1884.

Pennsylvania State. Philadelphia, Pa. Inscriptions in St. Peter's Church Yard, Philadelphia. By William White Bronson. 637 pp. Pub. Camden, N. J., S. Chew, Printer. 1879.

Pennsylvania State. Philadelphia, Pa. Record of Inscriptions in Burial Grounds of Christ Church. By Edward Clark. 637 pp. Pub. Philadelphia, Pa., Collins, Pr. 1864.

South Carolina State. Historic Camden, S. C. Part 2, 19th Century. By Thomas J. Kirkland and Robt. M. Kennedy. 485 pp. Pub. Columbia, S. C., State Pub. Co. 1926.

South Carolina State. Death Notices in South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775. By A. S. Salley, Jr. 42 pp. Pub. Columbia, S. C., State Co. 1917.

South Carolina State. Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston, S. C. By Barnett A. Elzas. 121 pp. Pub. Charleston, S. C., Daggett Pub. Co. 1903.

South Carolina State. History of Old Pendleton District. By R. W. Simpson. 223 pp. Pub. Anderson, S. C., the author. 1913.

South Carolina State. Marriage Notices in the South Carolina and American General Gazette and the Royal Gazette. By A. S. Salley, Jr. 52 pp. Pub. Columbia, S. C., State Co. 1914.

South Carolina State. Register of St. Philip's Parish, Charles Town, S. C. By D. E. Huger Smith and A. S. Salley, Jr. 505 pp. Pub. Charleston, S. C., Colonial Dames of America. 1927.

South Carolina State. Warrants of Lands in South Carolina, 1680-1692. By A. S. Salley, Jr. 226 pp. Pub. Columbia, S. C., State Pub. Co. 1911.

South Carolina State. Warrants of Lands in South Carolina, 1691-1711. By A. S. Salley, Jr. 264 pp. Pub. Columbia, S. C., State Pub. Co. 1915.

Vermont State. Hardwick, Vermont. Town Records. By Alison B. Hitchcock. 116 pp. Typed Ms. 1928.

Vermont State. Rutland County. History of Rutland County, Vt. By H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann. 956 pp. Pub. Syracuse, N. Y., Mason & Co. 1886.

Vermont State. Westfield, Vermont. Town Records to 1860. By Alison B. Hitchcock. 63 pp. Typed copy. 1928.

Virginia State. Days of Yester-Year in Colony and Commonwealth. By W. A. T. Squires. 301 pp. Pub. Portsmouth, Va., the Portsmouth Press. 1928.

Virginia State. Marriage License Bonds of Westmoreland County, Va. By Stratton Nottingham. 97 pp. Pub. Onancock, Va., the author. 1928.

Virginia State. Prince Edward County, Virginia. By Archibald McRobert. 15 pp. Pub. Farmville, Va., D. A. R. 1928.

Virginia State. Rockingham County, Virginia, Marriages, 1778-1816. By Harry M. Strickler. 128 pp. Pub. Dayton, Va., J. K. Ruebush Co. 1928.

Virginia State. Old Surry, Virginia. By A. W. Bohannan. 74 pp. Pub. Petersburg, Va., Plummer Pub. Co. 1927.

FAMILY HISTORIES

Austin Family. Austin Genealogical Record. By Maude S. (Conrad) Baker. 119 pp. Pub. Newark, N. J. (privately printed), M. C. Baker. 1928.

Barton Family. Descendants of Solomon Barton. By Joshua Lindley Barton. 30 pp. Reprint, New York City. 1929.

Baytop Family. A History of Two Virginia Families. By Dr. and Mrs. William Carter Stubbs. Unpaged. Pub. New Orleans, La., by the authors. n. d.

Blackman Family. Blackman and Allied Families. Comp. for Nathan Lincoln Blackman by Alfred L. Holman. 258 pp. Privately printed, Chicago, Ill., 1928.

Bunn Family. Bunn Genealogies. By James Alfred Ellis. 466 pp. Pub. Chicago, Ill., Romanzo N. Bunn. 1928.

Castle Family. Castle Family Chart. By Lawrence Brainerd. 4 pp. Pub. Boston, Mass., by author. 1921.

Catlett Family. *See* Baytop Family.

Conkling Family. Record of the Descendants of Daniel Conkling. By Mrs. W. A. Barber. 6 pp. Typed copy. n. d.

Dashiell Family. Dashiell Family Records. By Benjamin J. Dashiell. 256 pp. Pub. Baltimore, Md., by the author. 1928.

Douglas Family. Douglas Register. By W. Mac. Jones. 412 pp. Pub. Richmond, Va., J. W. Ferguson and Son. 1928.

Edson Family. Genealogical Notes. By George T. Edson. 60 pp. Pub. Burchard, Neb., Times Printing Shop. 1915.

Edson Family. Nathan Edson and His Descendants. By George T. Edson. 48 pp. Pub. Filley, Neb., The Spotlight Press. 1926.

Edwards Family. The Edwards Family. By Cyrus Edwards. 88 pp. Pub. Louisville, Ky., George G. Fetter Co. 1924.

Fairfax Family. Two Fairfax Families of Virginia. By T. R. Cartmell. 47 pp. Pub. New York City, Knickerbocker Press. 1913.

Garrett Family. Genealogy of Stephen and William Garrett. By Clyde B. Garrett and Mary E. Gaither. 58 pp. Privately printed. 1926.

Graham Family. Graham Family Records. By J. Montgomery Seaver. 101 pp. Pub. Philadelphia, Pa., American Historical and Genealogical Society. n. d.

Harman Family. Harman-Harmon Genealogy and Biography. By John William Harman. 465 pp. Pub. Richmond, Va., by author. 1928.

Henderson Family. Henderson-Whiddon Families. By William Henderson. 314 pp. Pub. Atlanta, Ga., Byrd Pub. Co. 1926.

Henshie Family. Henshie Family in America. By Lura May Henshie. 48 pp. Pub. Springfield, Ill., Springfield Job Printery. 1928.

Huidekoper Family. American Branch. By Frederic Louis Huidekoper. 30 pp. Pub. Montreux, Switzerland, by the author. 1928.

Hunter Family. Hunter Family Records. By J. Montgomery Seaver. 101 pp. Typewritten copy. American Historical and Genealogical Society. 1929.

Lillard Family. Lillard Family of Colonial Virginia. By Jacques E. Stout Lillard. 348 pp. Pub. Richmond, Va., Williams Publishing Co. 1928.

McMillan Family. McMillan Genealogy and History. By W. F. and C. E. McMillan. 353 pp. Privately printed. 1908?.

McNair Family. McNair, McNear and McNeir Genealogies. Supplement. 340 pp. Pub. Chicago, Ill., by author. 1929. Comp. by James Birtley McNair.

Moulton Family. Genealogy of David R. Moulton and Sarah Livings. By MacLennan and Alexander Earl. No paging. Pub. Morrison, Ill., by the authors. 1927.

Parker Family. Parker Genealogy. By Theodore Parker. 528 pp. Pub. Worcester, Mass., C. Hamilton Press. 1893.

Pratt Family. Phinehas Pratt. By Eleazer Franklin Pratt. 164 pp. Pub. Boston, Mass., privately printed. 1897.

Pulsifer Family. Ancestry and Descendants of Jonathan and Nancy Ryerson Pulsifer. By William Edmond Pulsifer. 71 pp. Pub. New York, privately printed. 1928.

Robertson Family. History of the Robertson Family. By J. Montgomery Seaver. 123 pp. Pub. Philadelphia, Pa., American Historical and Genealogical Society. 1928.

Severance Family. Severance Genealogy. By Henry Ormal Severance. 29 pp. Pub. Columbia, Mo., Lucas Brothers. 1927.

Tenney Family. Tenney Family Chart. By Lawrence Brainerd. 4 pp. Pub. Boston, Mass., by author. 1921.

West Family. West Family Register. By Letta Brock Stone. 493 pp. Pub. Washington, D. C., W. F. Roberts Co. 1928.

White Family. Pedigree of the White Family. By Enoch White. 9 pp. Typed copy. Staten Island, N. Y. 1928.

GENERAL WORKS

Daughters of the American Revolution. Lineage Books, Nos. 100-106. Washington, D. C., by the Society. 1928-1929.

Encyclopedia of American Biography. Vols. 32-36. Pub. New York, N. Y., American Historical Society. 1928.

Huguenot Pedigrees. By Charles E. Lart. Vol. 1. 113 pp. Pub. London, England, the Saint Catherine Press. 1924.

Huguenot Pedigrees. By Charles E. Lart. Vol. 2. 118 pp. Pub. London, England, C. Guimaraens and Co. 1928.

Notable Southern Families. The Crockett Family and Connecting Lines. By J. P. C. French and Zella Armstrong. 611 pp. Pub. Bristol, Tenn., King Printing Co. 1928.

Personal and Family Names. By Harry Alfred Long. 362 pp. Pub. London, England, Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1883.

The department solicits gifts of early pioneer letters, Bible records and anything of like nature which will put the present generation in touch with some of the earlier people of the State, who may be among the number from whom they are direct or indirect descendants.

Thanking the members of the Society for their co-operation in this department, and appreciating the help they have given us from time to time, which I hope will be continued.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman Genealogical Committee,
Illinois State Historical Society.

Program of the Thirtieth Annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, Auditorium, Centennial Memorial Building, Springfield, Illinois, May 9-10, 1929.

ORDER OF EXERCISES

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 9, 1929—2:30 O'CLOCK

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, Presiding.

Address—Indian Diplomacy During the Revolution in the West. Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

Address—The Lincoln of the Biographers. Dr. William E. Barton, Foxboro, Mass.

Songs—Miss Diamond Vadakin, Springfield.

Address—Sanitation in an Industrial Community. Miss Mary E. McDowell, University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION, 8:15 O'CLOCK

Invocation—Rev. H. W. McPherson, Springfield.

Songs—Mrs. Helen Brown Read, Illinois Conservatory of Music, Jacksonville.

Annual Address—Truth Telling-A Difficult and Dangerous Art. President Albert Britt, Knox College, Galesburg.

Songs—Mrs. Helen Brown Read, Illinois Conservatory of Music, Jacksonville.

Reception in the Illinois State Historical Library. The public invited.

FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 10, 1929

9:00—Directors' Meeting in the Office of the Secretary.

10:00—Business Meeting of the Society in the Auditorium of the Centennial Memorial Building.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 10, 1929, 2:30 O'CLOCK

Address—Historical Values in the Mid-Century Literature of the Middle West. Professor Arthur H. Hirsch, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

Address—Judge William Henry Underwood, Senator from St. Clair County, 1856-1864 and 1870. Mrs. Clara Halbert Needles, Granite City.

Songs—Mrs. Ruth Beckett Denney, Springfield.

Address—Joseph Joder, Schoolmaster-Farmer and Poet, 1797-1887. Professor Olynthus Clark, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

Address—The Stormy Years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the Great Fire. Professor George M. Stephenson, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

71891

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

May 9-10, 1929

TRUTH TELLING—A DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS ART

Albert Britt,
Knox College, Galesburg

A classic example of unintended and pathetic humor is the oath which we require of witnesses in the court room. "You do solemnly swear that the evidence which you shall give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God." The appeal to deity with which the affirmation closes is perhaps the saving clause, for certainly without divine help no man may hope to reach the sublime heights so blandly assured in the body of the oath. Perhaps the human race might be divided into two bodies—a small select group of those who sometimes hopefully, sometimes despairingly, compel themselves to seek the rarefied altitudes where truth alone dwells—and, it is to be feared, dwells alone—and on the other side the great mass to whom a small admixture of truth is sufficient leavening of the large lump of near information, misinformation, and downright prevarication.

It is long since Pilate asked his hopeless question, What is truth? "Jesting Pilate," it is the fashion of some divines to call him, as though even a Roman governor could see matter for humor in the grim problem that he faced. Whatever may have been the unconscious irony behind the question, there was no humor in the situation in which Pilate and the man who faced him were caught. And there is no humor in the question that every teacher, every scientist, every historian, every artist of whatever sort, must face every time he looks abroad or within his own soul for the answer to Pilate's question. It must be clear to every judge, every lawyer, every citizen who has sat in the jury box, that the solemn oath with which we seek to conjure up truth in the issues between man and man, or man and society, has no avail to work miracles. Simple-minded people boast that they believe what they see. Ask any two of them on the witness stand to describe the thing which both of them have seen at the same time and you will have two stories. Multiply the number of witnesses as you please and you multiply the stories. Grant that the discrepancies may appear small and to deal with minor questions. Many issues over which historians have quarreled for years were in their time minor and little considered.

Perhaps the scientist is on the safest ground as he observes phenomena. But how sure can he be that the phenomena of the laboratory are actually the phenomena of the natural world? And when a single step is taken from observed instances to deductions or generalizations, the element of possible error, of variation of reasoning, of bias, and of prejudice creep in to invalidate the conclusion or weaken the rule.

Probably the historian's case is the worst of all. The cynical jest that history is the lie to which we have all agreed has substance, partic-

ularly if stress be laid upon the last word of the phrase. So long as whole agreement is lacking, so long as to some credible observer a single link in the chain of evidence is missing, so long will the shadow of doubt rest on the historian's generalizations. On the face of it the task of the historian is simple. At such a place at such a time this thing was done, that word was spoken. For those things which are not only susceptible of documentary proof but which have no existence outside the document, this is probably true enough. So long as we agree that we have at hand the veritable first draft of the Constitution, there can be no doubt that the words recorded there are the words recorded on the day on which the instrument was adopted. But this form of truth is not of sole nor always of first importance. What lies behind the document, from what stress of circumstances, what shading and conflict of mind and motive, out of what turmoil of personal ambition, fear, hope, was it evolved? Answer these questions at your peril, for so surely as you please this group of critics, so surely will you offend others beyond all forgiveness. And how shall we read men's intentions? Out of what material shall we construct the picture of their minds? Yet this is a task that the historian must undertake. And not the historian alone, but the lawyer and the judge as well.

I believe it was Joseph Choate who remarked that while we were slow in amending our federal Constitution, we were past masters in the art of construing it. What is this but a seeking of the minds of men of past ages, and out of the medley of intent, of understanding, and of weakness there contained finding a basis by which a meaning may be read into or out of a cold objective document.

Not only is the race divided into those who seek a further and perhaps an ultimate truth and those who are satisfied with a limited diet. There is for the historian, too, the division into the tellers and the told, the speaker and his audience. It is a truism that it is difficult to tell people that which they do not already know, at least in part. And it is a truism the force of which is often overlooked. For even the best of us the extent of our willing reception of new information, new truths, if you please, is conditioned to a large extent upon those which we have already received. Travelers among primitive peoples have learned that it is not easy to shock the simple-minded savage with tales of the wonders of civilization except so far as they link up with the facts or beliefs of his own experience. The teller is too apt to find that he has acquired for himself only the reputation of being a sometimes entertaining but usually bungling liar. Stefansson, in his story of his life in the Arctic, tells somewhat ruefully of his attempts to impress the unsophisticated Eskimo tribes who before his coming had never seen a white man. He told them of a strange machine of the white men by which they flew in the air great distances across oceans, and of another by which they heard voices over a space that no human voice could cross. To the Eskimo that was nothing. They countered with tales of the Shaman, the medicine man, who visited the moon and talked with the spirits of the dead. They had no knowledge of gun powder or of high-powered rifles and the explorer gave an exhibition of his marksmanship. After their first fright at the sound of the discharge they showed more sur-

prise when he missed the target two hundred yards away than when he hit it. Why don't you hit it always, they asked? And then one old hunter inquired if he could kill game so far away that he couldn't see it? The explorer admitted that this was beyond his prowess or the possibilities of his weapon. The bored Eskimos turned away, informing him that they knew of a man with a magic bow with which he could kill caribou that he could not see on the other side of a hill and even kill caribou that he did not know were there.

Clearly the task of the teller is only half begun when he has satisfied himself that the material which lies before him is, to turn again to the language of the courts, the truth to the best of his knowledge and belief. How much of this are his hearers prepared to believe? More than this, how much do they prefer to believe? For the greatest obstacle to the telling of the truth is not prejudice in the mind of the teller, but in the mind of the told. It is only a few years ago that many intelligent and usually well-meaning and discriminating citizens of the world indicted practically an entire nation for cruelty so gross, so unbelievable, so appalling, that we might well have despaired of civilization if we accepted the stories. And accept them we did. And not only that, but we proved them true by solemn commissions and labored reports. It might be well to consider now what will be the point of view of the historian three hundred years hence when in the general wreckage of twentieth century civilization he happens upon a report of the Bryce Commission or any one of a score of newspapers or magazine articles published almost any time between 1914 and 1918. Will he write his findings down as an exhibit against Germany of that day or as an illustration of a curious psychopathic phase through which the people of the allied nations passed? For these reports and these articles are now a part of the documentary record of the War and history is written from documents. It is fortunate that history also is written by historians with consequent disagreement of bias, of training, of understanding. Were it an automatic process of transfer of evidence, of seeing, measuring, and presenting, the result would be something near literary bedlam.

To the inexperienced, writing history may seem a simple matter of assembling material, the most difficult part of the task being completed when the material is in hand. No one with even the smallest experience in the study of documents or of historical evidence of whatever kind will, of course, accept such a conclusion for a moment. The task might be somewhat easier if the evidence were created for the prime purpose of presenting a clean-cut case one hundred years later. Unfortunately this practically never happens. Even in so clear a case as the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, with the day to day detail of Madison's Journal and the exact record of the result of the deliberations, there is still ample room for doubt and disagreement as to what was the inner intent of that which was spoken and written only one hundred and forty-two years ago. Proceed from such a simple case into the morass in which the average writer of biography wanders, with his attempt to present an accurate picture of a long life with its many lights and shadows, its almost infinite contact with other lives

and those inner variations day by day and year by year. For the coloring of the truth begins with the making of the evidence. That letter which is written today, the one that was written last week, the speech which will be made next year, each of these in its own time and circumstance undoubtedly presents the truth of that instant. But how much of it is the truth as of the whole life and how much and how consistently or how effectively the truth to him who shall seek to read that life one hundred years away?

These things which I say are truisms to all of you, students of history, yourselves expert in deciphering documents, tracing a trail through the tangled jungle of conflicting evidence. How obvious are they to the reader of history? When Rupert Hughes rashly offered to a patriotic dinner in Washington some observations on General Washington, simple recorded facts of the life of Mount Vernon, the customary habits of a gentleman farmer of that time, all of them facts of record known to all students of Washington's time, the uproar of criticism and resentment that followed in certain circles would have been amusing if it were not so symptomatic of a general state of mind.

If it were not for readers the task of the historian would be simple. We pretend to tremble at the judgment of our peers, meaning the eight other men in the country who, we are prepared to admit, know almost as much about our subject as we do ourselves. What we actually fear is the displeasure of that great formless mass known as the reading public who are entitled, at least, to that praise which belongs to those who buy our books and do not expect author's copies. Of course, what happened to Mr. Hughes was the perfectly obvious and natural fate that belongs to him who tells something that the great majority of people do not want to believe. In T. S. Stribling's novel, "Bright Metal," there is an account of a young school teacher in a southern state who is studying for an advanced degree by a correspondence course in biology. Her degree is refused and on being pressed by a friend she tells the reason. Her orthodoxy having been offended by the evolutionary implications of the course in her final paper, "after every answer about the origin of life and the descent of man, I told them what their books said, and then I told 'em what the Bible said and then I explained honestly that I believe the Bible and not their textbooks." The University offering the course found what satisfaction they might in denying her her degree. But how much truth had they told her? And is it enough to say that what they had presented to her squared with accepted and observed facts of modern biology? For the effectiveness of truth telling is in direct ratio to the number of minds that it reaches and penetrates and in which it is able to ally itself with facts and theories previously absorbed— and experience previously encountered. Perhaps it would be extreme to say that the answer to the riddle, What is truth, depends as much upon the attitude of the reader as upon that of the writer. But it is sure that that which does not somewhere touch a cord of common understanding is more likely to produce disharmony than harmony.

I must plead guilty to a sneaking sympathy with some part of this reader attitude. By what right or warrant does the latest biographer of my oldest hero demand that I shall scrap all preconceptions and ac-

cept wholeheartedly and without reservation a new assortment of facts and of interpretations. Perhaps I am assured that the latest star to rise above the biographical horizon has had access to new and hitherto unknown material by which he sweeps away the old out-worn, distorted presentation. Am I then to believe that the new presentation is without prejudice? Or even that it should be?

Here we come upon another easy fallacy of those who have not dealt at first hand with the task of the historian, namely, that the ideal historian is that man who lets facts speak for themselves. Let him try it. He will find that they speak with a discordant babble out of which there comes no single clear narrative, or that too often they are dull, mute, inaudible, at the distance of the printed page. For there is no greater distance than that which is expressed in the span of a printed page, so great that all whisperings, all the casual explanations, all the asides that the author would willingly slip into the mind of his reader are muffled to silence. There remains only the printed page to speak or to whisper, as the case may be, against the shout of all the mass of previously received information, belief and prejudice. No. Facts will not speak for themselves. The writer must speak for them. Nothing is vainer than the hope that your latest life of Lincoln, your projected life of Napoleon, your true story of Benjamin Franklin, will be the objective fact of record in which shall be contained no modicum of yourself. If that is your hope then may I advise you that the only sure way to realize that hope of writing a history in which is contained nothing of the author is to refrain from writing history. Every novelist suffers at the hands of well-meaning friends who find shadowy images of themselves or others stalking through the pages. Only a fool puts his friends consciously into print, but the one person whom no author, even though a genius, can keep out of print is himself. The historian who says this is the man of my study as he was, deceives himself to begin with, and if anyone be so unfortunate as to believe him, deceives everybody who follows in the latter category.

Suppose the writer had assembled before him all of his future audience. What questions would he ask them before he began to write? Probably, being human, the first question would be, Will you buy my book? If he were sensible then the next might be, What do you already know about this man? If he were wise, the all-important question would be, What is your opinion of him?

At a New York dinner table the charming woman at my right turned to me between the fish and the entrée to inquire apropos of something that had been said before. "But was Admiral Peary really a gentleman?" Having the wit to understand what was passing in her mind I contented myself by answering, "No. Had he been he never would have reached the North Pole." I was not writing a biography of Peary. His social code or rating needed no defense from me and the dinner table was no place to enter into a long discussion of what a gentleman was and why a man who corresponded to that particular lady's definition of a gentleman could probably never have met so searching a test as fell to Admiral Peary in the Arctic. But suppose that instead of being an idle, light-minded dinner guest I had been the

biographer of Admiral Peary and that lady one of my readers? How to reach her mind with a veritable picture of the man and his achievements without running hopelessly and fatally foul of a narrow prejudice that had nothing to do with the merits of the narrative which I sought to present!

Once I essayed a chapter on Henry M. Stanley. It was seven thousand words in length. The artist who illustrated the book of which this was a part read the manuscript and after the tactful manner of friends inquired at our next meeting: "Why didn't you tell the truth about Stanley?" Of course, I protested that I had, at least within the limits of seven thousand words and my own intelligence. My friend snorted in indignation. "True," said he, "you mentioned Tippu-Tib and the thousand warriors he loaned to Stanley but you don't tell what Stanley did with them. You don't tell of the bloody trail that he left down the banks of the Lualaba on his way to the Congo." This was the beginning of a battle that waged through the evening and ended, as is usual in such cases, in a draw, which means that neither one of us was convinced. The plain fact of the matter from my point of view as the writer was that to have done as my friend insisted would have been to present to the reader not the true Stanley as I had come to see him, but a Stanley who was above everything else a hard, ruthless, bloody-handed murderer of innocent blacks. Undoubtedly Stanley was ruthless at times when something or someone barred the way to his goal, but a murderer as that term is understood in polite America in time of peace, never. I may be pardoned this personal illustration since it is so much in point. My friend was right, so far as the objective fact was concerned. No other reason existed for Stanley's borrowing of a thousand warriors from that crude, hard, rapacious rascal, Tippu-Tib, the Arab slaver. The district through which he cut his way was convulsed by inter-tribal wars and harrowed by slave raids. Fighting was the most popular sport and the most productive industry. But my task was not to tell of Stanley a truth which would have left in the minds of my readers the effect of a lie, but to present a Stanley whose explorations and whose later work brought peace and an ordered prosperity to a region that had known nothing but war for generations.

But what right had I, you may ask, to elect to present this Stanley and not some other? The right of my prejudice, of course. Why mince words? The historian who is not prejudiced for or against his material, perhaps by turns both, is neither human nor a historian. The truth that he presents is the truth passed through the lens of his understanding and to some extent of his imagination. Quite possibly the choice sometimes is one that must be consciously made. One might almost imagine Motley at some time in his study of William the Silent wondering whether he quite dares present as a figure of a great national hero a man in whose conduct and character there were darker shades, to whom at times harsh epithets might well have been applied. Whether the choice were conscious or unconscious it had to be made and made in the mind of the writer. When Motley at the end of William's life wrote his famous phrase: "As long as he lived, he was the guiding star of a whole brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the

street," he rendered his verdict according to the weight of evidence. Suppose the case not quite so clear for William the Silent. Suppose the evidence for his canonization not quite so overwhelming. We may well imagine the problem of the historian far more difficult than it probably was in reality. In none of us does either the saint or the sinner predominate at all times. And yet in most of us one or the other outvotes in the course of a long life. The task of our biographer is first to find to his own satisfaction the dominant strain so far as he seeks to offer characterization, and characterization there will be, express, implied, or unconscious.

The temptation to wander somewhat broadly in the field of modern biography is great, so great that the only sure way of resisting it is to refrain altogether from entering the field. And yet it needs to be said that the fate of the new school, if it may be so called, can not be determined on any of the obvious presumptions. It is not enough to say of Paxton Hibben's "Henry Ward Beecher" that that is not the Beecher I have always known, nor is it the Beecher that is consistent with the one that other men have presented. To assert such a defense is merely to draw about ourselves the comfortable garment of acceptance which has been the garb of the extremely orthodox from the beginning of time. The teapot tempest at Dayton, Tennessee, was a front page story not because it was extraordinary but because it was human. The marvel is not that there was a trial at that time and place, but that there have not been many more. No one earns such unpopularity as the disturber of preconceived notions, particularly if the old notions are more comfortable than the new. Neither is it a sufficient ground of attack on the new school to designate them as muckrakers. Labels, those simple substitutes for thinking, are easily applied and often difficult of removal. In our easy use of Cassandra as a synonym for the prophet of woe we too often forget that Cassandra told the truth. John Brown was hanged as a criminal for inciting a slave insurrection. Actually his hanging grew out of the unwillingness of men to read the omens of evil that as we now look back seem startlingly clear. I doubt if any modern biographers are likely to suffer on the scaffold and probably none of them will be canonized two centuries after death. But to label them muckrakers neither reads them off the map nor writes ourselves on as competent critics. After all the task of the latest biographers of Washington, for example, is no different from that of the earliest. Parson Weems strove with such intelligence as he possessed and we must believe with reasonable honesty to present a figure of Washington that was in accord with such records as he found and acceptable first to the author himself and then presumably to the readers of that time. The evidence of his own inventing was of slight importance and has in itself added little to the dehumanizing deification from which the great leader suffered. So far as the muckraker brings to light new and authentic evidence carefully analyzed, truthfully presented in the light of modern knowledge, he serves his time well. Insofar as he seeks only to present an effective or sensational picture which after all is only another way of saying the worst that can be said of good Parson Weems, he has rendered still more difficult the task of telling the truth.

The temptation is strong to end on a note of high exaltation. Unfortunately I can not command the note. I would like to believe and sometimes I do believe that the historian, like other craftsmen, finds his highest satisfaction in the work itself. I can not believe that the conscious liar can experience any thrill other than perhaps that which he may feel in common with the successful burglar or the skillful forger. I am sure that work badly done can bring no sense of satisfaction except the relief that comes from a somewhat unpleasant task finally bundled in some fashion out of the way.

Probably it is as well that the truth should remain difficult and dangerous. An article so rare, so precious, so fragile, is not for clumsy hands. Most of us must content ourselves with fleeting glimpses, perhaps to vary the figure, with an occasional sip of a dilute sample. And after all the historian who congratulates himself that in this volume or in that he has told for all time the final and complete truth must be put in the same classification with the judge who congratulates himself at the end of his term that for every day and every case he has rendered exact and perfect justice. For both men must be written down as blind servitors at a great altar.

INDIAN DIPLOMACY DURING THE REVOLUTION IN THE WEST

Louise Phelps Kellogg

The problem of the Revolution in the West was not whether Indians should be employed, but which party in the contest would have diplomacy enough to secure the savages' allegiance. The Indians were not only in the West and greatly in the majority, but they were of a warlike nature and easily induced to take the warpath. Moreover, they had been accustomed since their earliest acquaintance with white men to take part in their animosities and to become the allies of one nation or the other. For example, the Indians of the West fought the first engagement in the French and Indian War, when in 1752 at the behest of French officers they attacked and destroyed an English-allied village at Pickawillany in Ohio.[1] Change of one's traders meant to them change in national allegiance, and international trade rivalry inevitably led to war. It is not necessary, therefore, to inquire which party in the Revolutionary contest was the aggressor or the first sinner in utilizing Indian allies. Such an alliance was a natural result of the situation.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution the British had been in control of the western Indians only about ten years. The earliest occupation (1761-63) broke down under the stress of Pontiac's Conspiracy, and it was only after 1764-65 that the British had a precarious grasp of the military and trading system in what we now call the Old Northwest. Within that area they had in 1775 three posts. At the time of the French surrender there were three times that number of posts, but the lesser ones had been reduced or abandoned during the rebellion of 1763 and had not been regarrisoned.

The most northern of these posts was that on the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, known as Fort Michilimackinac; it stood on the southern coast of the strait near what is now known as Old Mackinaw. It was a ramshackle fort, hastily rebuilt after its capture by Pontiac's forces; it housed, however, a considerable garrison of British regulars, made necessary by the vast number of fur traders who congregated at this entrepôt. It was commanded at the outbreak of the Revolution by Captain (later Major) Arent Schuyler de Peyster, a New Yorker who had been in the British Army for twenty years. He was a well educated man, a genial comrade, given to rhyming and punning, an able officer with considerable experience and skill in dealing with Indians. His garrison was of his own regiment—the Eighth, or King's Own, and consisted of about one hundred and twenty men.

One hundred miles south of Mackinac lay Detroit, or the place of the strait, the most important British post in the West. The fort at this place was a small wooden affair, protected by cedar pickets; it was im-

pregnable only against Indians. Its garrison consisted of two companies of the King's Regiment under Captain Richard Lernoult. Because of its importance as an outpost, Detroit had been constituted a province, dependent on Quebec, in charge of a lieutenant governor. The first official of that title to reach Detroit was Henry Hamilton, an Irish gentleman, who had served in the British army under Generals Wolfe and Amherst. He arrived to take over the government November 9, 1775, and was chiefly occupied with Indian diplomacy until his capture by the American General Clark two years and four months later.

The third British post was in western Illinois, among the settlements on the east bank of the Mississippi, those on the west bank belonging to Spain. During the French régime Illinois had been an important link in the chain of occupation, with the large stone Fort de Chartres for its protection. After the British obtained possession in 1765 they kept a considerable garrison at Fort de Chartres. The Mississippi River had begun to undermine this fortress before the French surrender, however, and in 1772 the British garrison was obliged to abandon it and remove to Kaskaskia, where the Jesuit missionaries' house, which had recently been vacated, was fortified and named Fort Gage. Its garrison in 1775 was composed of two companies of the Eighteenth or Royal Irish under Captain Hugh Lord, who had made himself as popular with the French inhabitants as his predecessor was unpopular. It had been planned to establish a provincial government like that of Detroit in Illinois, with a lieutenant governor at its head. This officer, however, had not arrived when in 1776 Captain Lord with his troops was recalled to Detroit. On his departure he entrusted the affairs of the Illinois to Philippe de Rocheblave, the best educated and best born Frenchman of the settlement.[2] There had been a few years previously a subsidiary post at Cahokia, opposite St. Louis, but in 1775 it was without troops or a commandant.

The settlement on the Wabash, known from its founder as Vincennes, which during the French régime had been a dependency of New Orleans, had had scant attention from the British authorities. After the conquest Vincennes had no official government, carrying on with a notary and a French officer, Jean Baptiste Racine *dit* St. Marie. In 1768 the commandant at Illinois sent an English trader named Rumsey to Vincennes to take the oath of allegiance of the eighty or ninety Frenchmen who were heads of families at that place. As a halfway station on the water route between Detroit and the Illinois, Vincennes was a place of some importance; so in May, 1777, Hamilton sent Edward Abbott from Detroit to act as lieutenant governor. Abbott built a stockade post and mounted some cannon lent him from the Illinois by Rocheblave, and named the building Fort Sackville. Abbott was forced to withdraw early in 1778, and like Lord at the Illinois, he left in charge a Frenchman without soldiers or funds.[3]

The region of the Old Northwest was not inhabited solely by soldiers and savages. Although the British government had not until 1774 made any provision for the welfare of these frontiersmen, there was a considerable population around the three posts, partly composed of Scotch and Irish traders with a few farmers, but consisting for the

most part of retired French-Canadian engagés with their Indian wives and half-breed children. Similar settlements were around the abandoned posts at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, in what is now Wisconsin; at Peoria, Fort St. Joseph, Ouiatanon (near Lafayette, Indiana), Fort Miami (now Fort Wayne). After the British occupation these western Frenchmen were in a predicament; they had either to abandon their homes and property and return to France, where they would be entire strangers, or forswear their allegiance to the French crown and become British subjects. All westerners took the latter alternative and some of them, such as Charles de Langlade at Green Bay and his nephew, Charles Gautier, at Prairie du Chien, became officers in the British Indian department and zealous partisans of the British cause.

On the west side of the Mississippi the Spanish ruled, although the inhabitants were for the most part French of the same type as those in the settlements farther east. Both the Spanish officials and the chief traders on the west side of the river were more inclined to the cause of the colonies than to that of the British, whose traders constantly attempted to secure the furs of the Indians of Spanish Louisiana. A garrison at St. Louis made it possible to keep the British traders from the Missouri River; farther north, however, in what is now Iowa and Minnesota the British traded in Spanish territory with impunity and controlled all the Indians of the upper Mississippi.[4]

On the southern and eastern borders of this region between the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi were the American colonists, looking with covetous eyes at this beautiful and fertile territory which had been annexed by the Quebec Act of 1774 to the province of Canada. The King's proclamation of 1763 had only partially restrained the eager land-seekers from pushing into this region; while the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 had opened the frontier on the eastern border for exploitation. The chief post in this section was Fort Pitt, captured from the French in 1758 by General John Forbes, renamed for the British premier, enlarged and strengthened so that in 1763 it withstood the siege of Pontiac's warriors. In an attempt at economy the ministry had ordered Fort Pitt abandoned and demolished at the same time Fort de Chartres was given up. However, the fortifications were not entirely destroyed and in 1774 Lord Dunmore, the then governor of Virginia, ordered the post restored, and as Fort Dunmore it became the point of departure for his expedition against the Shawnee tribesmen on the Scioto. In 1775 it was secured by a colonial committee of West Augusta, Virginia, and was maintained thereafter during the Revolution, in the hands of the Americans.[5]

South of the Ohio and west of Kentucky River lay a great tract of fertile land, unoccupied by Indian tribes. Hunters and explorers had been passing through this region for several years, when in 1775 it was purchased from the Cherokee Indians by a company of North Carolinians. They had a road cut from Cumberland Gap and a colony established called Transylvania. The Virginians, within whose charter limits this region fell, resented the action of the proprietary company and late in 1776 took this region under their protection, organized it as

Kentucky County and sent ammunition to the frontiersmen for its defense. The principal Virginian to press this matter was a young man named Clark, who had served under Lord Dunmore in his march in the fall of 1774 into the Indian country. In this campaign Captain Clark for the first time observed methods of Indian diplomacy and had an opportunity of noting the effectiveness of an invasion of the tribal territory.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the first move on the chesssboard of Indian diplomacy in the West was made by an agent of Lord Dunmore, Major John Connolly. Connolly had been left in command of Fort Dunmore on the departure of Lord Dunmore in the late autumn of 1774. In February, 1775, he went over the mountains to Williamsburg to consult his superior. Dunmore, who was in great difficulties with the rebellious colonists, gave Connolly orders to secure the allegiance of the Indians across the Ohio, and not to allow the colonists to tamper with them. Connolly thereupon sent runners to the Indian towns and the chiefs came in to Fort Dunmore for a treaty in June and July, 1775. Connolly carefully refrained from saying anything about the disturbances in Virginia and the other colonies, but the last day of the treaty a committee of patriots from West Augusta appeared at Pittsburgh, and despite Connolly's opposition informed the chiefs that they loved liberty as the Indians did and that they would be their friends.[6] After the treaty Connolly disbanded the small British garrison at Fort Pitt and retired to Dunmore's headquarters, who was then confined on board a British man-of-war off the coast of Virginia.

The patriots immediately seized the opportunity of securing both Fort Pitt and the Indian allegiance. The last session of the Virginia House of Burgesses appointed a commission to negotiate with the western Indians. Captain James Wood of frontier experience left Williamsburg at the last of June for the Indian country; he advanced as far as the Wyandot towns opposite Detroit and carried his message through all the villages of what is now Ohio. Wood found that the chiefs had heard echoes of the Revolutionary proceedings and he was constantly called on by the tribesmen to explain what it all meant; he also found that emissaries from Detroit had preceded him in the Indian towns and were endeavoring to prejudice the tribesmen against the colonists, saying they meant to take all the Indian lands. By great diplomacy Wood counteracted the effect of these agents and secured the attendance of the principal chiefs at Pittsburgh. By September large delegations of tribesmen began pouring into Pittsburgh, where they were received not only by the Virginia commissioners—Thomas Walker, Andrew Lewis, James Wood, and Adam Stephen—but by Lewis Morris and James Wilson, sent out by the Continental Congress.[7]

The keynote of Wood's message and of the Pittsburgh treaty was neutrality. Colonel Morris said to them: *"Brothers,* you have no doubt heard of the dispute between us and some of our Father's evil Counsellors beyond the Great Water. In this dispute your Interest is Involved with ours so far as this, that in Case those People with whom we are Contending shou'd Subdue us, your *Lands,* your *Trade,* your *Liberty* and all that is dear to you must fall with us. . . . Notwithstanding all this,

we only ask of you to Stay at home, to take Care of your Women and Children, and follow other Usual Occupations; we are not afraid these People will conquer us, . . . we fear not them, nor any Power on Earth."

As the negotiations continued the tribesmen were more and more impressed with the commissioners' message; they agreed to take "firm hold of the chain of friendship with the thirteen American council fires which were all firmly and unitedly bound together."[8]

The treaty of Pittsburgh in 1775 was a great triumph for American diplomacy; it kept the Indians quiet, with the exception of a few irreconcilables, for two years; it made possible the settlement of Kentucky, which in turn made possible the later advance into the territory north of the Ohio. By the seizing of Fort Pitt and the alliance made there with the tribesmen a revolutionary movement in the West was ensured.

Meanwhile great danger threatened the West and the entire American Union from a plan evolved in the fertile brain of Major John Connolly. Connolly concerted with Lord Dunmore in Virginia, General Gage in Boston, and Sir Guy Carleton in Quebec to proceed to Detroit and raise the western Indians for the British cause; then with Captain Hugh Lord of the Illinois and the regular army troops in the West to march eastward, to capture Fort Pitt, to proceed through colonial territory to the sea coast, cutting off the southern states from New England, Pennsylvania, and New York. Had Connolly been able to reach Detroit the plan might have succeeded. He was, however, arrested at Frederick, Maryland, his plot revealed to the patriot authorities and so foiled. It was in preparation for joining Connolly that Captain Lord with the British garrison retired from Illinois and left Fort Gage defenseless.[9]

After the foiling of Connolly's scheme Hamilton, who had arrived at Detroit just as the reports of the treaty of Pittsburgh began coming in, contented himself during the following winter and spring with repairing the fort and engaging bands of Indians to go to Canada to Carleton's aid. De Peyster at Mackinac did the same. Captain Charles de Langlade of Green Bay took a considerable contingent of Indian warriors to the aid of Carleton in the summer of 1776 and was commended for his zeal and good conduct.[10]

In the meantime George Morgan, a former trader in the Illinois, was chosen by Congress to supervise Indian affairs at Fort Pitt; in the summer of 1776 he drew the Indians to a second treaty at that place, which was, however, not as successful as Morgan supposed.[11] Hamilton, at Detroit, vigorously opposed the American emissaries and did his best to hinder the western tribesmen from going to Fort Pitt. On September 2, 1776, he wrote Lord Dartmouth: "I tore the messages, letters and speeches of the Virginians, and cut their Belts in presence of two hundred Indians, deputies from the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandotts, Shawanese, Senecas, Delawares, Cherakees, and Potteowattamies. Hitherto I have restrained them from acting, not having had an opportunity of receiving orders from His Excellency General Carleton, but a letter from him dated 19th July, 1776, informs me that he had sent back some Ottawas who had offered their Services, desiring them to hold themselves in readyness next Spring to cooperate with His Majesty's Forces." Hamilton thereupon informed the Indian Council that he would protect them

from any attacks of the Virginians, and that if one tribe was attacked all would aid in repelling the assailants.[12] It was evident that neutrality was wearing very thin among the western Indians.

The principle of neutrality was abandoned by both parties to the quarrel about the same time. May 25, 1776, Congress resolved "that it is highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United Colonies," and offered fifty pounds for every prisoner they would bring in. It was reported in the same month in an English publication that the commanding officer at Detroit was offering twenty pounds for a scalp.[13] If the latter offer was true Hamilton did not report it to his superiors; but his recommendations to employ the western Indians brought orders as soon as possible to that effect. Even the pious Earl of Dartmouth thought it no wrong to order the Six Nations to "take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America."[14] Lord George Germain gave definite orders on March 26, 1777, to Carleton that the tribesmen should be urged to attack the frontiers.[15] These orders must have reached Hamilton by June, for in that month we find him holding a great council at Detroit and visiting each nation at its war feast. Soon afterwards he wrote: "In a month I don't question one thousand Warriors going against the Frontiers. At the same time I have exhorted them to act vigorously, I have endeavored to teach them to spare Old Age, Women and Children."[16] One is reminded by this admonition of the ironical speech in Parliament of Edmund Burke ridiculing the exhortation to mercy made to the American savages. Suppose, he said, one should go to the Tower (where at this time a menagerie was kept) and opening the gate, thus address its beasts: "My gentle lions, my humane bears, my tender hearted hyenas, go forth! But I exhort you, as you are Christians and members of civilized society, to take care not to hurt any man, woman or child."

It is pleasant to relate that not all of the British officers joined in recommending forays against the frontier. Edward Abbott at Vincennes wrote to Governor Carleton: "Your Excellency will plainly perceive the employing Indians on the Rebel frontiers has been of great hurt to the cause, for many hundred would have put themselves under His Majesty's protection was there a possibility; that not being the case, these poor, unhappy people are forced to take up arms against their Sovereign, or be pillaged & left to starve; cruel alternative. This is too shocking a subject to dwell upon: Your Excellency's Known humanity will certainly put a stop if possible to such proceedings, as it is not people in arms that Indians will ever daringly attack, but the poor inoffensive families who fly to the deserts to be out of trouble, & who are inhumanly butchered, sparing neither women nor children. It may be said it is necessary to employ Indians to prevent their serving our enemies. I will be bold to say their keeping a neutrality will be equally (or more) serviceable to us as their going to war."[17]

The fiat had, however, gone forth and Abbott's plea fell upon unheeding ears. The year 1777 was always remembered by the frontiers as the year of blood. The comparative immunity of the two former years, the lure of the land, and the troubles in the eastern colonies had sent large numbers of people into the West. Suddenly destruction fell upon

them from across the Ohio. The whole frontier "forted" in pioneer phrase, and in December John Bowman wrote of "the poor Kentucky people who have these twelve months past been confined to three forts, on which the Indians made several fruitless attempts."[18] These were the raids which exasperated George Rogers Clark to the point where he concluded offense was the only means of defense, and went to Virginia to persuade Patrick Henry and other patriotic Virginians to agree with him.

Although the British officials succeeded in winning to their side the great body of the Indians in the Old Northwest, there were some notable exceptions to this rule. Among those were the Delawares of the Hockhocking River, who had come under the influence of the pious Moravian missionaries dwelling in their towns. Captain White Eyes of that tribe sent repeated warnings to General Edward Hand at Pittsburgh, and several times came himself to bring important news that saved the frontier. A yet more notable example was the great Shawnee chief Cornstalk, who, true to his engagements at the treaty of Pittsburgh, came in the late summer of 1777 to the fort at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. There, notwithstanding his good offices, he was seized, kept a prisoner, and finally murdered by members of the garrison.[19] The frontiersmen had only some of their own numbers to thank that the Shawnee became thereafter for a score of years their most inveterate enemies.

It was in 1778 that the Revolution in the West entered an entirely new phase. George Rogers Clark's spectacular march on Kaskaskia and occupation of British Illinois on behalf of the patriots changed the course of Indian diplomacy in the West. The American chief's management of the Indians of the entire Northwest shows him to have been something more than a soldier; he was an accomplished diplomat in Indian affairs. Clark based his diplomacy on the methods the French and Spanish had used in controlling the tribesmen. "I took great pains," he wrote, "to make myself acquainted with the French and Spanish methods of Treating Indians, and of the manner and disposition &c. of the Indians in General and as the Indians in this quarter had not yet been spoiled by us I was resolved that they should not be."

Clark's policy was to startle and surprise his Indian visitors, and never to show the least anxiety with regard to their decisions. In the great council at Cahokia, held the latter part of August, 1778, he told the assembled tribesmen: "I am a man and a Warrior, and not a councillor. I carry in my Right hand war and Peace in my left." He then explained the patriots' cause in terms they could understand: "The Big Knife are very much like the Red people; they don't know well how to make Blanket powder and cloath." The English "would not let our women Spin nor the men Make powder, nor let us trade with anybody else, but said that we should Buy all from them, and since we had got saucy they would make us give them two Bucks for Blanket that we used to get for one." "At last the Great Sperit took pity on us and kindled a great Counsill fire that never goes out.... stuck down a post and left a war Tomahawk by it and went away.... The old men ... took up the Hatchet, sharpened it and put it into the hands of the young men

and told [them] to strike the English.... Thus the war began and the English was drove from one place to another until they got weak and hired you Red people to fight for them and help them. The Great Sperit getting angrey at this, He caused your old Father the French King and other Great Nations to Joyn the Big Knife and fight with them against all their enemies, so that the English is become like a Dear in the Woods."[20] The whole speech was a masterly appeal to the prejudices and ideals of primitive men. It had a great effect. The entire council group, most of whom had come out of mere curiosity, remained to treat. Alliances were made with fully a dozen great tribes from the present Wisconsin and Michigan, representing nearly four thousand warriors. The commandant at Mackinac lamented that only the Sioux were in the British interest.[21]

Clark gave certificates to the head chiefs of the tribes, two of which have survived, that for the Rock River Winnebago and that for the chief of the Foxes.[22] So great was his name and fame among all the northwestern Indians that the mere report that he was in the neighborhood made those the English had re-engaged in 1780 by means of presents desert again to the American side. For one chief, residing at the time in the vicinity of Milwaukee, especial honors were reserved. Somewhere Siggenauk or Blackbird had had some contact with civilization, and informed Clark, who had sent for him, that he could do his business better sitting at a table. "He assumed," wrote Clark, "the airs of a polite gentleman," and when the conference was over had bound himself so firmly to the American alliance that no one could prevail on him to abandon it. When all the other bands around Lake Michigan returned to British obedience, Siggenauk stood his ground, and he and his band were described by the commandant at Mackinac as "those runagates of Milwakie,"[23] true to the American interest throughout all the years of the Revolution.

It was Clark's Indian diplomacy quite as much as his military achievements that secured the Northwest for the American alliance. It was said of him that "he flattered the friendly and confused the hostile tribes of Indians." Moreover, he was quite ruthless in punishing those who once having given allegiance to his cause then turned enemies. Witness his chastisement of the Delawares of White River in May, 1779, and the vengeance wreaked on the marauders before Fort Sackville. This attitude evoked the unbounded respect of the savages.

The chief difficulty Clark had in retaining the services of the Indians was his lack of supplies to purchase their friendship. The tribesmen were not merely mercenary in this matter of goods; without ammunition they could not hunt, or feed their wives and children, much less go on the warpath against trained soldiers. The Americans were in distress themselves for ammunition, while the British, who commanded the Great Lakes route to the St. Lawrence, could bring a plentiful supply to the heart of the West. Jefferson's instructions were "Ammunition should be furnished gratis to those warriors who go actually on expeditions against the hostile tribes,"[24] but as Governor John Todd at the Illinois wrote: "I wish you'd tell me how Mr. Machieval

advises to keep up the Indian interest without goods, either to give or to sell."[25]

So the duel continued between the two contestants. After the capture of Hamilton at Vincennes the tribes so completely deserted the British that fears were entertained that the Americans would penetrate to northern Michigan and capture the post of Mackinac. By the spring of 1780, however, the British were again in partial command of the situation, most of the Wisconsin Indians having returned, at the solicitation of Langlade and Gautier, to their British allegiance. They joined the expedition against St. Louis in May, 1780, only to suffer a swift retribution when Colonel Montgomery marched against the towns on Rock River, burned their villages and destroyed their crops. Clark in like manner punished the Shawnee in August, 1780, for their share in the Kentucky raids organized from Detroit.

Early in 1781 the British were reinforced by the appearance in the West of the redoubtable Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, who had terrorized the New York border. In this year it was Brant's wits against Clark's and Brant won, capturing an entire wing of Clark's army on the Ohio and defeating the proposed expedition against Detroit. In 1782 the pendulum swung forward and back in like manner. The disaster of Crawford's expedition, the attack on the fort at Wheeling, and the invasion of Kentucky, terminating in the disaster of Blue Licks, were largely engineered by Simon Girty, loyalist; while Clark's swift retaliatory expedition against the Indians on the Miami in November, 1782, may be reckoned as the last action of the Revolution either in the East or the West, preliminary articles of peace having already been drawn.

At the beginning of the Revolution the Old Northwest was Indian land; along the streams of the Scioto, the Miamis, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Rock, the Wisconsin, and the Upper Mississippi the red men held full sway. Living among them in favored spots were groups of French inhabitants; their trade was contested for by British, French, and Spanish traders. The commandants of the several posts sought their friendship and rewarded it with substantial gifts. Into this Indian territory came suddenly a new claimant for their alliance, with a new technique in diplomacy. Startled and confused at the change, swayed first by one then by another motive, the red men passed the years of the American Revolution in a state of tension which boded no good. Solicited and flattered by the British, they raided the new American settlements and developed hatreds that endured for more than one generation. At the close of war, baffled and angry at the British surrender of their lands to the Americans, the western Indians felt that they had been betrayed by both contestants for their favor. Whatever the results were for the whites, for the Indians of the Northwest the diplomacy of the Revolution was disastrous, and hastened the ultimate loss of their fatherland.

Nor was the peace treaty signed at Paris a sufficient guarantee of protection to the western inhabitants. Whatever may be said of Clark's diplomatic ability with the men of the forest, his influence on the statesmen who drew the treaty of peace, is yet an unsolved problem. It has even been claimed that Lord Shelburne, chief negotiator,

never heard of Clark. This is certainly disproved by a statement of Henry Hamilton himself. "In the month of June, 1781," he wrote, "I returned to England. Lord Sackville, Mr. Ellis, and finally the Earl of Shelburne had the condescension to attend to my situation, and from their favor and protection am happy to think they did not attribute my failure to negligence or want of zeal for His Majesty's Service."[26] Shelburne must, therefore, have heard from Hamilton of Clark's success and how great his ability was in diplomatic dealings with the western tribesmen. Moreover, it was well known in England that the British hold on Detroit was precarious down to the very close of the war, and that the vast expenses incurred at all the posts of the Old Northwest for presents to the tribesmen were necessary to counteract the influence of the Americans upon the northwestern Indians.

It has been suggested that possibly these great expenses were the chief reason the English negotiators were willing to transfer the Old Northwest to the new American nation. This might be conceded if the British policy of buying Indian friendship had ceased after the treaty of peace. Such a policy, however, was continued for nearly a half century after the Revolution and was responsible for many of the frontier wars. Even as late as 1832 Black Hawk, the Sauk warrior, was encouraged in his rebellion against the United States by the fact that he received yearly presents from the British officers at Malden, and felt secure of a retreat to upper Canada if he failed in his hostilities.

From whatever point of view, therefore, it is regarded, it must be conceded that the Indian diplomacy during the Revolution in the West had momentous consequences, not only upon the affairs of the moment, but upon the ultimate result of the struggle. Had the frontier been entirely broken, driven in upon the older settlements by the impact of savage brutality, not only might the national success have been endangered, but the Old Northwest might have become a permanent Indian reserve under British protection, instead of the home of a great American population, the seat of five great commonwealths of the United States.

NOTES ON INDIAN DIPLOMACY

[1] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII, 128-131.

[2] Thwaites & Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1908), 137; C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country* (Centennial History of Illinois), I, 317.

[3] *Illinois Historical Collections*, I, 313-317.

[4] On the Spanish share in the Indian diplomacy see Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783," in *Journal of Illinois History*, Oct., 1928, pp. 291-358.

[5] See Dunmore's apology for rebuilding Fort Pitt in Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War* (Madison, 1905), 388. A good sketch of Fort Pitt in 1775 is in *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (New York, 1924), 65-66.

[6] Minutes of the treaty are in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIV, 54-78.

[7] George Washington was appointed by the Virginia patriots chairman of this commission; after his choice as commander-in-chief he was unable to proceed to Pittsburgh. The other members of that delegation were Virginians of great reputation.

[8] Minutes of the Pittsburgh treaty of 1775 are in *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 25-127.

[9] *Ibid.*, 136-142; *The Olden Time*, i, 520; *Alvord, Illinois*, 312-313. Connolly's own narrative is in *Penn. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, XII, 355.

[10] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 39-40; XVIII, 355-356.

[11] *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 216-217.

[12] Papers from Canadian Archives, Q-12; photostat in Wis. Hist. Library.

[13] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1776, 234.

[14] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, VIII, 596.

[15] *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, IX, 346-349. *Pa. Archives*, V. 402.

[16] Thwaites & Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, (Madison, 1912), 7-13.

[17] *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 46-47.

[18] *Frontier Defense*, 182.

[19] *Frontier Defense*, 27-29, 157-171.

[20] Clark's "Memoir" in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 245-248.

[21] Estimates of the number of tribesmen changing allegiance are in *Mo. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 176

[22] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 113, 177.

[23] *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 253-254; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 384.

[24] Draper Manuscripts, 23J15, in Wis. Hist. Library.

[25] Draper Manuscripts, 23J103.

[26] Draper Manuscripts, 45J69.

THE LINCOLN OF THE BIOGRAPHERS

By William E. Barton

Appearing again, and gladly, on the program of an annual meeting of this Society, I wish first of all to express my own obligation, and that of Lincoln scholars throughout the country, to the Illinois State Historical Society. Worthily housed in this admirable building on the site of the home where Abraham Lincoln wooed and married Mary Todd, generously supported by a State that has a commendable and growing pride in its history and its heritage of great names, presided over by a Secretary and a staff of assistants whose competence is equalled only by their unfailing courtesy, the Illinois State Historical Society has made itself an invaluable factor in the work of the Lincoln scholar. As few students of the Lincoln material can be under greater obligations to this Society than I, and as I fully intend to increase my own obligation, I begin my address with this word of sincere thanks to Miss Osborne and her assistants, and of appreciation of the intelligent support on the part of the Legislature that makes this service possible.

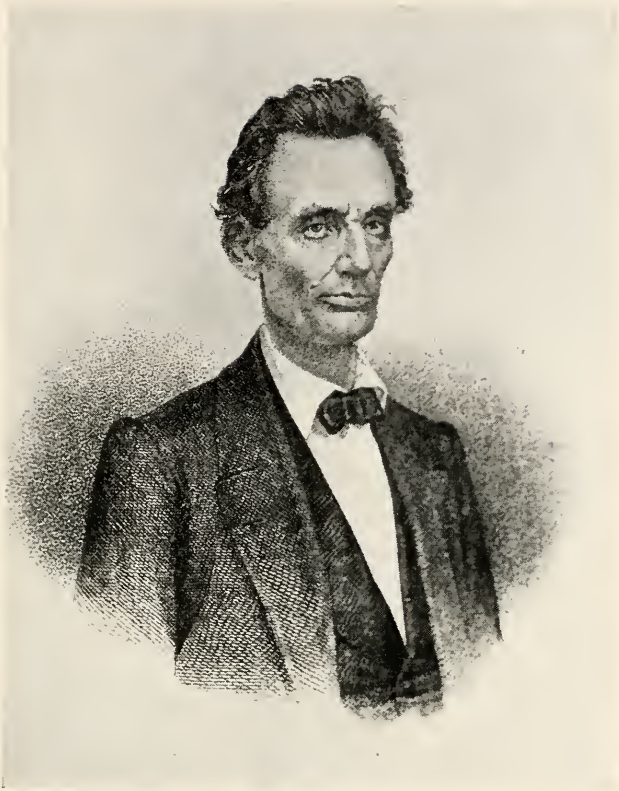
I am speaking of *The Lincoln of the Biographers,* and my method is threefold. I wish first to say something about the beginnings of Lincoln biography, the writers and their sources, tracing the origins of their literary accomplishment back to the first biographical publication that emerged from a distant hillside when

> "Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness,
> Down in Illinois."

Having discovered the historical sources of the first company of writers, I intend to consider the work of the successive biographers, dividing Lincoln biographies for convenience and with some approach to logical arrangement into seven classes. I do not intend to mention by name each writer of a life of Lincoln, except those in the first group and in a list at the end of this study, but I shall endeavor to mention those who seem to me to have begun or defined new periods in Lincoln literature.

My third purpose is to attempt some estimate of the contribution of the biographers to an understanding of the character of Lincoln, and of biography as a creative art. I hope to append to this address as it shall appear in print, a check-list or bibliography, not of Lincoln literature as a whole, but of Lincoln biographies, from 1860 to 1929, a period of almost seventy years.

I am undertaking a very modest intrusion into the field of bibliography, where I have no possessions and no purpose to establish an abiding-place. That field belongs to friends of mine, living and dead, and



Yours truly
A. Lincoln

theirs it shall remain. When my esteemed and beloved friend, Judge Daniel Fish, rested from his labors, his mantle fell appropriately on the shoulder of his friend and mine, J. B. Oakleaf. The field these men have staked out and possessed is vast. Lincoln books increase in number, and not one tenth of them are biographies. The Library of the Illinois State Historical Society has 3,600 Lincoln items, besides its Civil War Collection, and probably not more than two hundred of these items are Lincoln biographies. In the wide domain of Lincoln bibliography are addresses, orations, sermons, poems, studies of special aspects of Lincoln's character and influence, and other and widely diversified monographs whose titles are numbered into some thousands. Lincoln bibliography is a wide and fertile domain, much wider than the theme of this address. But through that blossoming meadow flows the stream of biography, and it is a river that waters the roots of all other forms of Lincoln literature. Into that stream for ten years and more I have dipped my oar and my net. Not only so, but I have now and then poured into it as it flowed past me the contents of my own pitcher, filled from more or less distant springs. The field itself belongs to others, but I wish to explore the stream. I begin with the tiny biographical spring that flowed from the prairies in 1860, which augmented by many tributaries, has widened and deepened in the nearly three score years and ten since then.

Few of the lives of Lincoln have been great books. Among the authors are included the undistinguished company of hack-writers of campaign biographies, the goodly fellowship of those who endeavored to gather the facts from those who personally had known Lincoln, and the noble army, small but potent, of those who have really added to the world's knowledge of Lincoln. These, and those who are to follow in their train, are the men and women through whose loving labor Abraham Lincoln is known and is to be known to the present and to coming generations.

I. The Birth of Lincoln Biography

Abraham Lincoln was a man unknown to the nation and the world when on Friday, May 18, 1860, he was nominated for the Presidency of the United States. During the campaign of more than five months that followed his nomination he said and did practically nothing to make himself better known. He did not leave Springfield; he did not make any political speeches; he did not write any articles for publication under his own name. Deliberately he avoided personal publicity, though gladly approving all proper means that advanced his political success. During the further period of nearly four months that intervened between his election and inauguration, he left Springfield but twice, once on a short trip to Chicago to meet Hannibal Hamlin who was to be his vice-president, and once to Charleston to visit his step-mother. Except for two little impromptu car-platform responses made to informal groups at stations not very far from Springfield as he traveled toward Chicago, he still delivered no addresses.[1] Whatever the people of the United

[1] These two little speeches, delivered at Lincoln and Bloomington, are in *The Women Lincoln Loved*, pp. 311-312.

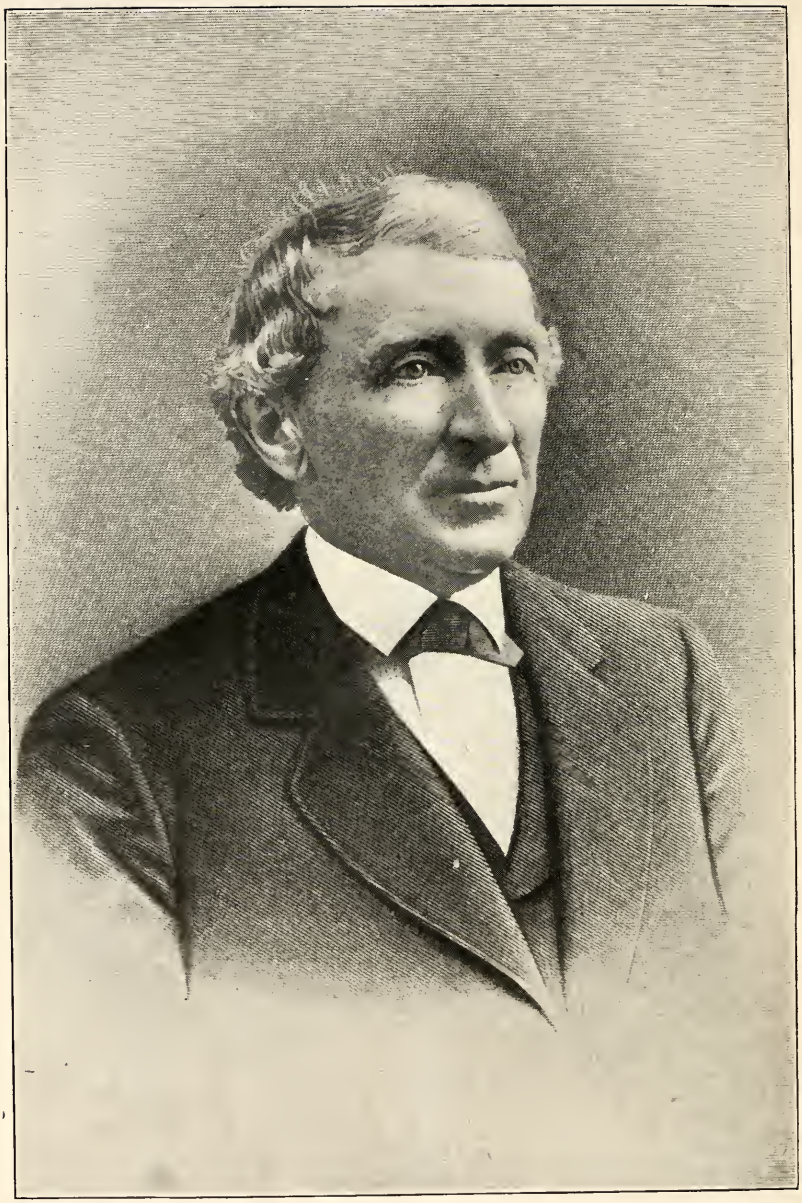
States learned concerning the obscure man who was about to become the chief executive of the nation, they learned from the campaign biographies of 1860. Those biographies were hastily prepared, out of very inadequate material, but they made Abraham Lincoln president, and what is also true, to a very large extent they created the image of the personality which the world came to know as Abraham Lincoln; for the man himself the most of his contemporaries could not and did not know.

To one of Abraham Lincoln's biographers, Jefferson Davis seemed a more probable candidate for the Presidency in 1860 than Abraham Lincoln himself. David W. Bartlett, a radical Republican, preparing himself to write a campaign life of the winner of the Republican nomination, and possibly of one or more of his opponents, published at the end of 1859, a book entitled, *Presidential Possibilities,* containing biographical sketches of twenty-one men who seemed to Bartlett to deserve mention as possible nominees. It is interesting to call the roll of those men.

The list began appropriately with William H. Seward, whom, undoubtedly, Bartlett regarded as the probable Republican nominee. The second chapter was a life of Stephen A. Douglas, who was practically certain to be an opposing candidate. Then followed Salmon P. Chase and Edward Bates, names which very naturally would have occurred to an intelligent newspaper man as second and third choices. Then followed David S. Dickinson and John Bell, John P. Hale, Alexander H. Stephens and Nathaniel P. Banks. The list continued with Joseph Lane, John McLean, Henry A. Wise, Henry Wilson, Jefferson Davis, James Orr, John Minor Botts, James H. Hammond, Howell Cobb, and John C. Breckinridge. Then, to close the volume, Bartlett wrote a chapter on John C. Frémont, who continued to be counted a presidential possibility not only in 1860 but even, and absurdly, in 1864.

Interesting as is such a list, with the names of Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, Howell Cobb, Henry A. Wise and John C. Breckinridge considered as possible candidates for the presidency, our judgment on the whole is one of approval. These men were not impossible candidates in the end of 1859 and the beginning of 1860, and the Republican list is an excellent one, with William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Edward Bates, John P. Hale, N. W. Banks, John McLean, Henry Wilson and John C. Frémont. The important fact is that the name of Abraham Lincoln is not mentioned in this book!

The weeks that intervened between the publication of Bartlett's *Presidential Possibilities* brought few if any new names into prominence. If Bartlett had brought out a new edition of his book, for sale at the Chicago Convention, he would not have added many chapters. To be sure, Hon. A. Lincoln of Illinois had delivered an important address in Cooper Union, New York, on February 27, 1860, and there were politicians in Illinois who talked of him as a man who had split so many fence-rails that he ought to be president; but that fact would hardly have caused Mr. Bartlett to append a chapter concerning Abraham Lincoln as a presidential possibility.



JESSE W. FELL

When the unexpected happened, and Abraham Lincoln was actually nominated, there was no man even in Illinois who out of his own personal knowledge could have written a life of Lincoln.[2]

When Horace Greeley, on the afternoon of May 18, 1860, sat down to write an editorial on the man whom he had assisted that day to place in nomination for the presidency of the United States, he was less proud of having helped to nominate Abraham Lincoln than he was of having helped accomplish the defeat of William H. Seward and to have blocked the plans of Thurlow Weed. Greeley had not been a Lincoln man till the night before, and very late at that; for a little before midnight he wired the *Tribune* that Seward was certain to be nominated. He changed his mind when he discovered how many conventions were going on at midnight in hotel rooms. These bedroom and bar-room conferences disclosed, first, that the middle west was more solidly for Lincoln than had appeared; secondly, that the border states were more willing to accept Lincoln than Judge Bates of Missouri; and thirdly, that Pennsylvania, after giving a perfunctory vote for her more-or-less favorite son, Simon Cameron, might be induced to withdraw his name, with a cabinet position as a consolation prize, and cast the vote of its delegation for Lincoln; for Pennsylvania would not accept Seward.

Pennsylvania was the Keystone State in the arch of that political achievement. The Middle West alone could not have nominated Lincoln. He could not hope for New York; that was uproariously for Seward. He could not expect Ohio; that was for Chase. He must have one strong Eastern State. Pennsylvania was his one possibility. He got Pennsylvania and with it the nomination.

Greeley found that it was almost easier to get Lincoln nominated, and that had not been easy, than it was to discover data for a biographical sketch such as he needed in next morning's *Tribune,* and I conjecture that he found his data in the office of the Chicago *Press and Tribune,* for the two Tribunes were working more or less together. The basis of his material was a two-column editorial in a country paper in Pennsylvania, the Chester County *Times.* The editorial had appeared February 11, 1860, and perhaps only three men in the world knew how it had come to appear there. One of those men was Jesse W. Fell of Bloomington, Illinois; another was Joseph J. Lewis of West Chester, Pennsylvania, and the third was Abraham Lincoln.

But why did the article appear in Pennsylvania? Because Fell and Lewis determined to "salt" the Pennsylvania press in anticipation of the deadlock in the Pennsylvania delegation over Cameron, and the fact that Pennsylvania would not accept New York's lead in the nomination of Seward.

Not only Horace Greeley, but John Locke Scripps of the Chicago *Press and Tribune* had to get whatever biographical material their two

[2] Several weeks after Lincoln's nomination, the *Illinois State Register,* published in Springfield and bitterly opposed to his election, took editorial notice of the fact that the birthplace of Lincoln was under discussion. It mentioned the fact that some people thought he had been born in Virginia, others in Tennessee and still others in Kentucky. The preponderance of evidence, and appropriately as it judged, was in favor of Possum Ridge, Washington County, Kentucky, as the place of its townsman's birth.

papers used out of that Pennsylvania article, marked copies of which had been sent to editors far and wide.

Whoever reads the 1860 biographies of Lincoln will see how they were written up to Pennsylvania expectations. They all state that, though Lincoln's immediate ancestors were Virginians, his family came from Pennsylvania, and that they were Quakers, and related to important Pennsylvania families. Jesse W. Fell, though he had lived in Illinois just as long as Lincoln had, and that was thirty years, was a native Pennsylvanian, and he knew just what he was after in the emphasis which was laid on the Pennsylvania relationship.

Who furnished the biographical material for the sketch in the Chester County *Times?* Abraham Lincoln himself, protesting and insisting that his name should not appear in the matter, wrote his first autobiography in less than three pages. It was a very meager sketch which he submitted. He gave it to Jesse W. Fell,[3] who had for months been insisting that Lincoln should write it. The minute Fell got the sketch, in December, 1859, he sent it to Joseph J. Lewis in Pennsylvania. Lewis had Lincoln's own manuscript before him, and in much of his work he followed it verbatim. His letters to Fell showed that he felt keenly the paucity of his material. Yet that was the sketch which supplied not only the newspapers of Pennsylvania, but those of Chicago and New York. It appears quite certain that Lincoln prepared no other sketch of his life until after his nomination. Whatever requests he received for knowledge of his history he appears to have answered by a reference to Jesse W. Fell. So far as we know there was but one such request. This is Lincoln's answer:

Springfield, Jany. 15, 1860.

Fernando Jones, Esq.

My Dear Sir: Yours of the 10th was received two or three days ago; and, being much engaged, I have postponed attending to it until now. Our republican friend, J. W. Fell, of Bloomington, Illinois, can furnish you the material for a brief sketch of my history, if it be desired—I shall be happy to receive a letter from you at any time.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

It is not likely, however, that Mr. Jones obtained material from Mr. Fell, who had sent the original manuscript to Pennsylvania, retaining no copy. It was nearly a month later, of February 11, that the Lewis editorial appeared in the Chester County *Times.* Horace Greeley used it for his editorial in the *Tribune,* Saturday, May 19, and on that same morning John Locke Scripps used it in the Chicago *Press and Tribune.* Lewis could say, and did say to Fell that day, both being delegates, one

[3] For material on this part of my address I am under deep obligations to Miss Fanny Fell, of Los Gatos, California, and her sister, Mrs. Treacle, who have given me unrestricted access to the manuscripts of their father, Jesse W. Fell, and permitted me to copy, among other things, the extensive correspondence between Fell and Lewis. It may be worth while to note that Lewis records his own conversations with Lincoln, after the election, in which Lincoln expressed his belief that the sketch published by Lewis had been a most important, if not a determining factor, in making Lincoln president. Lincoln appointed Lewis to important offices in recognition of his service and ability.

from Pennsylvania and the other from Illinois, "The Chicago papers have paid me the compliment of taking over my editorial practically entire."

That editorial was the basis of the biographic portions of the first three lives of Lincoln in book form. Not only did the Pennsylvania delegation make Lincoln's nomination possible, but the Pennsylvania newspapers made it possible for the country to know Abraham Lincoln.

That Lincoln had any part in this matter has not hitherto been known. That Lincoln wrote a sketch of his life for Jesse W. Fell, who wished to use it in the East, has been known since 1872, when the sketch was reproduced in *fac simile* in Lamon's *Life of Lincoln.* The manuscript is still owned by Mr. Fell's daughters, who have a few copies of the *facsimile.*[4] Mr. Fell did not see the manuscript after December, 1859, until late in 1871; he had to send to Pennsylvania for it. He had not taken time even to copy it, but mailed it to Lewis immediately, and never saw it again till an inquiry of Lamon in 1871 caused Fell to think that Lamon was in danger of making a misstatement, and he recovered the document and consented to its use in Lamon's book. Lamon published the biographical sketch in *facsimile,* but said nothing about what Fell did with it.

II. Seven Ages of Lincoln Biography

Thus far I have dealt with biographical material concerning Lincoln which was contained in the newspapers prior to the publication of books devoted to his life story. We are now to consider the books that began to emerge from the press immediately after his nomination, and which have continued to appear more or less steadily down to the present time. The earliest of such volumes call for somewhat extended discussion. Later ones will be considered in groups, in which only a few outstanding books will be named.

1. campaign biographies, 1860–1864

I have been following the straight and narrow path of documentary investigation, depending on contemporary manuscripts, including Jesse W. Fell's very full correspondence with Lewis. Let us take a brief excursion into the realm of imagination, which is a necessary, and to a greater extent than is commonly acknowledged, a frequent source of history. In several publishing offices in New York City and elsewhere something like this occurred. The publisher had engaged a writer to produce for him as promptly as possible after the adjournment of the Chicago convention a campaign biography of the successful candidate, and the writer had assembled some material to aid him in his task. The publisher and the prospective author sat in the office together, impatiently awaiting the result of the Chicago ballot. It was after the noon hour on Friday, May 18, 1860, and the publisher wanted his lunch. A telegram came, or a newsboy shouted, and the publisher said, "His name is Lincoln. How soon can you have the manuscript ready?"

[4] Miss Fanny Fell, Los Gatos, California, has these desirable facsimiles for sale.

The writer said, "I have material on Seward and Chase and Bates and a number of others, but none on Lincoln; where can I get it?" The publisher answered, "I don't know, but you must get it or make it."

Then the publisher put on his hat and went to lunch, and before returning to his desk he walked over to the office of the *Tribune* and wrote out an advertisement for next morning's paper, declaring that he had "In Press, for Immediate Publication," a book containing "a complete account of the Life, Services and Speeches of Hon. A. Lincoln of Illinois."

Not only so, but in a very few days he had on the market a book of 128 to 144 pages, selling at twenty-five cents, and was hard at work padding it out with Lincoln speeches to make a volume to be bound in cloth to sell at a dollar. Those were the days when book publishers had enterprise. Within a very short time there were eight books on the market, each professing to tell the full and accurate story of Lincoln's life.

There was no *Who's Who* in those days, and the newspapers did not have the extensive "morgues" which they now employ. Where did those biographers obtain their material? The answer is that the first three had the Lewis editorial, as modified for use in the Chicago or the New York *Tribune,* and that the last five had a new autobiographical sketch prepared by Lincoln in June at the request of John Locke Scripps. Both groups of writers depended for their ultimate authority on Lincoln's own sketches of his life; and that material is still the corner stone of Lincoln biography.

Which was the earliest of these books to appear on the market? And what was the order of their appearance? How much do we know about the authors and their work? It will be interesting to summarize such information as I have been able to assemble on this point.[5]

On Saturday morning, May 19, 1860, a half dozen publishers, at the very least, announced that they had lives of Lincoln in press. The pressure at that point was on the author to hurry with his copy. The author used the editorials of that morning, and in the case of three of them that was practically all the data they obtained on the life of Lincoln. What additional material they secured was in newspaper accounts of the convention and the volume of the debates between Lincoln and Douglas, which fortunately included some of Lincoln's other speeches.

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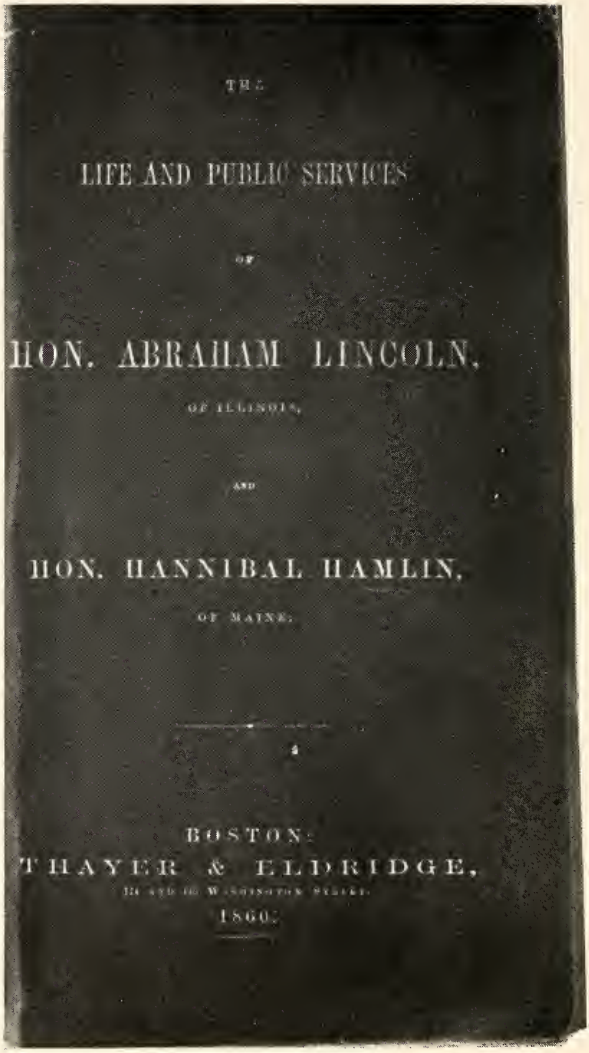
[5] For the material which started me on the quest of this portion of my address, I am indebted to Morris H. Briggs of Chicago, Miss Esther Cushman of the Library of Brown University, and D. H. Newhall of New York. They have generously given me all they have on the subject. I have followed it by an examination of the newspapers of the period and by a search in Washington, in which quest I have received generous aid from the Register of Copyrights. I may add that this inquiry involved much more labor than I anticipated; because in 1860 copyrights were registered "in the Southern district of New York" or "the Northern district of Illinois" as the case might be, and the search proved laborious. My obligation to the Register of Copyrights is not a small one. While my conclusions as to dates of publication, and priority of issue, differ from those tentatively given me by Miss Cushman and Mr. Briggs, and I think mine are correct, I might not have undertaken this adventure but for their generosity.



THE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

OF ILLINOIS,

AND

HON. HANNIBAL HAMLIN,

OF MAINE.

BOSTON:

THAYER & ELDRIDGE,

114 AND 116 WASHINGTON STREET.

1860.

TITLE PAGE OF THAYER AND ELDRIDGE, PUB. IN 1860.

(1) *The Germ of the Wide-awake Edition.* If my reckoning is accurate, and I think it is, the first book actually on the market, which was by its title a life of Abraham Lincoln (with a brief account appended concerning the life and services of Hannibal Hamlin) was not one of the several New York books which loudly proclaimed that they were "first in the field," but a little book published in Boston, by Thayer and Eldridge, who were at the very time announcing their edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass.*[6]

The Thayer and Eldridge book was announced in the Boston *Transcript,* Saturday, May 19, as in press. It was registered for copyright May 28, two days ahead of its next two competitors, and was advertised as "now ready" and was actually sold on Monday, May 28, 1860. On June 14, the publishers advertised that they had sold 10,000 copies of "the Wide-awake edition." I think, however, that they had never applied that name to the edition until then; at least I find no copy of the paper-bound pamphlet with that name on the title page. But the publishers were in process of adding about 180 pages of Lincoln's speeches of their 128 pages of biography, and padding it out into a cloth-bound book of 308 pages, to be sold at a dollar. This 308-paged-book was styled "the Wide-awake edition," and it may be inferred that the publishers used the name somewhat indiscriminately for both the larger and the smaller book. Both books were the same as to the first 128 pages of reading matter. The smaller book does not have a name, but may be styled "the germ of the Wide-awake edition." It sold well in both editions. So far as I am aware, it set forth no claim to priority and has not been considered by any authority hitherto as the first in the field. But it was certainly first to secure copyright and so far as I can discover it was first on the market. This might be a good place to remember the couplet of John Jeffrey Roche, putting into a suitable and classic form the affirmation that "It will be a cold day when Boston gets left"—

"Dies erit praegelida,
Sinistra quum Bostonia."

It was not only first, but it was a rather well written little book. I have been unable to secure any information as to its probable writer. It is barely possible that Eldridge himself wrote it.

(2) *The Vose Booklet.* On May 30, 1860, two days after the copyright registry of the Thayer and Eldridge book, Reuben Vose of New York made application for copyright of a life of Lincoln. He claimed right both as author and publisher. His book was on sale on Saturday, June 2, two weeks and one day after Lincoln was nominated and three days after the publication of the Thayer and Eldridge book. This little book by Vose was a tiny 32mo, and few Lincoln authorities

[6] I am of the opinion that Thayer and Eldridge were so confident of the nomination of Seward that they had prepared a campaign life of him, and had it in type before the convention. They published it, even though Seward was not the nominee. The fact that such a book was practically in press before the convention met is one more evidence of the surprise of the publishers and the nation at Lincoln's nomination.

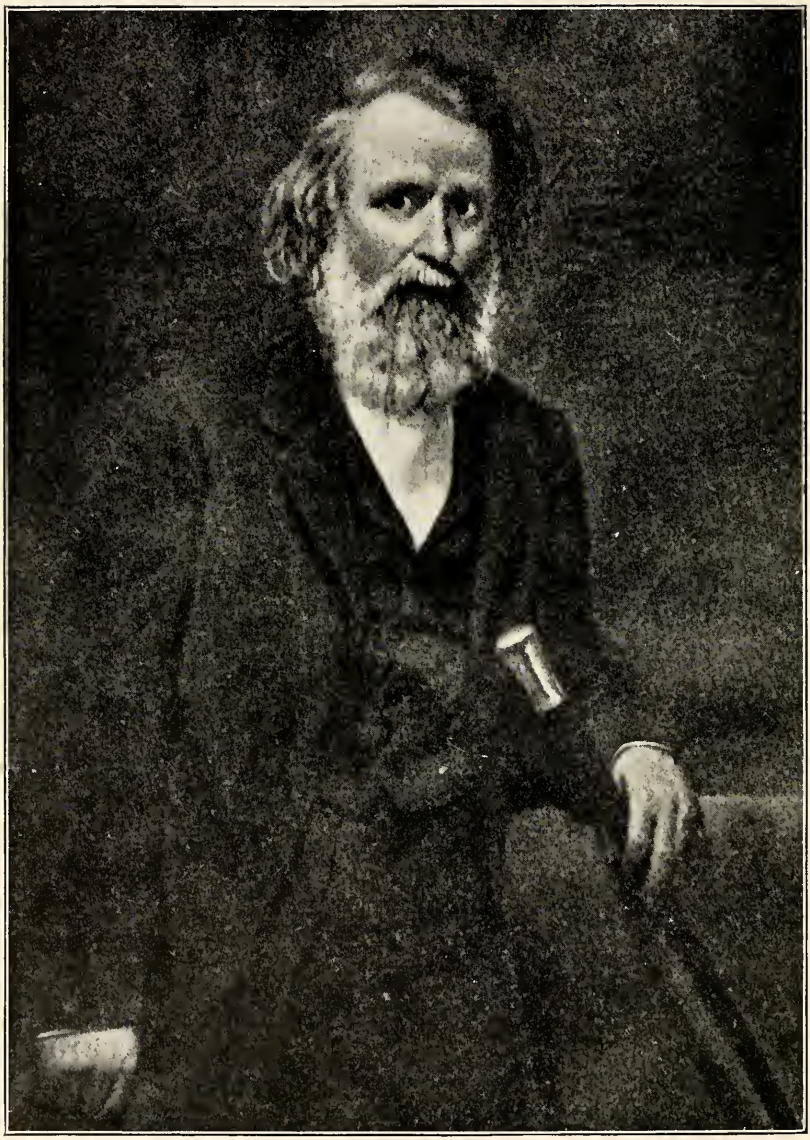
have ever seen it. The fine library of the Illinois State Historical Society does not own it, and it is almost the only life of Lincoln that I do not own. It was issued in two editions, one of 32 pages appearing on Saturday, June 2, and the other of 118 pages, somewhat confused in the pagination, less than a week later. Vose announced on June 2 that he had 10,000 copies ready at ten cents each, but that the larger book, "the irrepressible edition," would be ready on the following Tuesday or Wednesday at twenty cents a copy. The larger book was still a very small thing, but it contained, in addition to the brief biography, the Republican platforms of 1856 and 1860, Lincoln's Cooper Union speech, his reply to Douglas in Chicago, July 10, 1858, and his Springfield addresses of June 10 and July 17, 1858.

(3) *The Wigwam Edition.* The third life of Lincoln, which has hitherto been regarded by most scholars as the first (and in this opinion I shared until I made this present investigation) was the famous Wigwam edition, published by Rudd and Carleton of New York. This book was announced as "in press" on Saturday morning, May 19. Copyright registry was effected May 31, 1860, and copyright was completed by the filing of a copy on June 8. Although the publishers, and one or more selling agents, had been vigorously calling for orders for a full week, the book was not advertised as actually ready for delivery until June 8. I therefore place this book third in the chronological list. The Wigwam edition was produced by a hack writer whose name we do not know. It contained 117 pages and differed from most of the lives of that year in not having an enlarged edition. On June 20 the publishers claimed to have sold 20,000 copies. I am confident that the writer had no other material for his biographical portion than the Greeley editorial of Saturday morning, May 19. That editorial confused Lincoln's father and grandfather, and stated that Abraham had had to undertake the support of a widowed mother. This mistake was repeated in the Wigwam edition. The writer never learned the real name of the man whose life he was writing; his was a biography of "Abram Lincoln." But this book had a very wide sale and large influence. It was the first life of Lincoln owned by Mr. O. H. Oldroyd and his own copy is the corner stone of the noted Oldroyd collection.

These authors of these first three books had, as I suppose, no other biographical data than that contained in the Lewis editorial, copied and more or less modified in other papers. The remaining biographies of 1860, in the English language, were based on another document.[7]

I have little doubt that the editorial in the Chicago *Press and Tribune* of Saturday morning, May 19, was written by John Locke Scripps, one of the editors of that paper. He was not satisfied with his material. He hastened to Springfield and, after several interviews and some interruptions, he procured, early in June, a new autobiographical sketch of Lincoln, much more detailed than the one written

[7] The German vote was considered very important in 1860, and there were at least three lives of Lincoln in German. I shall undertake to list them in the bibliography which I am preparing, but as many were practically translations they need not now concern us. They were all later than the earlier books in English.



JOHN LOCKE SCRIPPS

for Fell a few months earlier. I do not think Lincoln gave Scripps the original manuscript, for that remained in the Lincoln papers and is locked up in the Library of Congress under the terms of the will of Robert T. Lincoln. This sketch, unlike the Fell autobiography, has never been reproduced in *facsimile,* though the text of it is in the various collections of Lincoln's writings.

I am confident that Lincoln caused or permitted at least five copies of this sketch to be made; perhaps by the biographers themselves, perhaps by some clerk resident in Springfield, one at least by John G. Nicolay. The important thing is that five biographers used the material and Lincoln kept the original manuscript.[8]

I shall speak later of the biography which Scripps wrote, but it is convenient here to give a brief account of the man, because it was he who procured this longer and fuller and better piece of autobiography from Lincoln.

John Locke Scripps was born in Illinois in 1818 and died in Chicago at the age of 45. He was a graduate of McKendree College, a man of integrity and ability. In 1924 his daughter, Mrs. Grace Locke Scripps Dyche, prepared for this Society a sketch of her father's life, and it is published in the Society's proceedings for that year, together with much valuable material concerning his biography of Lincoln. Mr. Scripps related that Lincoln seemed much opposed to undertaking an autobiography, or of assisting any one to write his life, saying that one line in Gray's *Elegy* told the whole story—

"The short and simple annals of the poor."

He also told Scripps some things about his family history about which he was sensitive and asked Scripps not to mention them, and Scripps kept his faith with Lincoln. Scripps worked faithfully over his task and his pamphlet was not printed until four others who used the same material had their books on the market. Mrs. Dyche thought her father had written the first published life of Lincoln; it was really the eighth.[9]

(4) *The Bartlett Biography.* From this point on, the exact order of publication of lives of Lincoln is perhaps less important, and there are some uncertainties. But I think the next life, the fourth in order, was by David W. Bartlett, the man who had written *Presidential Possibilities* and had not included Lincoln. He was Washington correspondent of the New York *Post.* I have a suspicion that he first prepared his manuscript with a chapter based on the Fell sketch, but

[8] Daniel F. Newhall copies for me from an unidentified auction catalogue a portion of a letter from J. Q. Howard saying: "The little book was written in the time required and was based on an autobiography handed me by Abraham Lincoln himself in the handwriting of John G. Nicolay, who had just become his secretary, and upon other information obtained from original sources." The fact that Nicolay made the copy which was used by Howard, and doubtless also by Howells, affords reasonable presumption that the same method was used in furnishing copies to other biographers.

[9] For Mrs. Dyche's account of her father, see the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for 1924; and her volume, "The First Published Life of Lincoln."

that, when he gained access to the Scripps sketch, he rewrote the chapter and used the Scripps sketch almost verbatim. He added extracts from Lincoln's speeches and anecdotes which he lifted from the Chicago *Press and Tribune* and perhaps other papers, giving life and color to his narrative. The biography filled 150 pages and the extracts from Lincoln's speeches swelled it to 348 pages. The preface was dated June 1 and copyright registry was made June 10. It was advertised to be ready June 12 and that was, I think, the day of publication.

(5) *The Barrett Biography.* Almost a fortnight after Bartlett came the work of Joseph H. Barrett, a book of 216 pages. Its preface was dated *Gazette* office, Cincinnati, June 18, 1860. Barrett was the only biographer of Lincoln of 1860 who endured to the end. He continued to write biographical works on Lincoln through to the close of his long life.

In 1903 Mr. Barrett gave to the press his final contribution to Lincoln biography in a work of two volumes entitled *Abraham Lincoln and his Presidency.* In the preface he gave this account of the preparation of his campaign biography:

"Before the meeting of the Republican National Convention of 1860 I had undertaken, not of my own motion or at first willingly, to write a campaign biography of its nominee for the presidency. I was confident that my subject would not be Mr. Seward, but had no presentiment that the choice of the convention would be Abraham Lincoln, whom I had then never met. In my first interview with him, soon after the adjournment of the convention (of which I was a member), he earnestly and even sadly insisted that there was no adequate material for such a work as was intended, yet he received me very kindly, and showed no unusual reserve in talking of either his earlier or maturer life. As to both periods, he readily gave such facts as my inquiries invited or suggested; introduced me to friends with whom he had been on intimate terms for more than twenty years; and put me in the way of exploring newspaper files and legislative journals in the Illinois State Library for biographic material.

"He told me of his correspondence with one of his father's relatives in Rockingham County, Virginia, and with one of the Lincolns of Massachusetts, without obtaining positive proof of the relationship which later research has rendered certain. Recognizing that his parents were of humble life, and ranking himself with plain people, he distinctly claimed to be of a stock which, though it had produced no man of great eminence, had always been of good repute in general as to both character and capacity. At my request and in my presence (May 24, 1861) he sat for a daguerreotype which was lithographically reproduced for the volume then in preparation, published the following month."

The portrait which accompanied the Barrett biography as frontispiece, was an excellent one, and it was the only portrait of Lincoln made from a daguerreotype or photograph taken for the express purpose of use in a Life of Lincoln in 1860. It is used as a frontispiece for this essay.

(6) *The Howard Biography.* Some of the 1860 biographies appeared with more than one publisher's imprint; and in some cases, as for instance that of Barlett, there were two editions rather sharply competitive. But now emerges an interesting situation of which we perhaps do not know the whole story, and it has to do with two men who became prominent and one of them famous, James Quay Howard and William Dean Howells. The firm of Follett, Foster and Company of

Columbus had published the volume of Lincoln and Douglas debates. It was Lincoln himself who prepared the copy, and was very desirous of securing publication.[10] He was grateful to the publishers, who, naturally thought themselves entitled to special consideration. But Lincoln, while most kindly disposed, did not wish to grant to any one publisher the right of monopoly or of saying that his book was authorized; and he became quite impatient when this firm overstepped what he thought proper bounds in that matter.

(7) *The Howells Biography.* William Dean Howells was twenty-three years of age in 1860, and after various editorial ventures in his native state of Ohio was editing the *Ohio State Journal* in Columbus when Follett, Foster and Company asked him to prepare a life of Lincoln for them. He accepted the responsibility but did not go to Springfield. He wrote long afterwards:

"It was the expectation that I would go to Springfield, Illinois, and gather the material for the work from Mr. Lincoln, his friends and his neighbors. But this part of the project was distasteful to me, was impossible; I would not go, and I missed the greatest chance of my life in its kind, though I am not sure that I was wholly wrong, for I might not have been equal to that chance; I might not have seemed to the man I would not go to see the person to report him to the world in a campaign life. What we did was to commission a young law-student of those I knew, to go to Springfield and get the material for me. When he brought it back, I felt the charm of the material; the wild poetry of its reality was not unknown to me; I was at home with it, for I had known the belated backwoods of a certain region of Ohio; I had almost lived the pioneer; and I wrote the little book with none of the reluctance I felt from studying its sources."[11]

This "young law student" was James Quay Howard. He was born in Ohio in 1840; was graduated from Marietta College and was both a law-student, and a reporter on the *State-Journal.* He went to Springfield, met Lincoln several times, and brought back to Columbus a copy of the Scripps sketch and some material of his own gathering. He was ambitious to do more than convey material to Howells, and he wrote a campaign life of Lincoln which was issued by the same publishers, and a few days ahead of that of Howells. Howard afterward told John E. Burton that he thought his book was issued June 24 and that Howells' was published in the following week. He was mistaken. His preface is dated June 26, and his book appeared in paper covers about July 1. It may be conjectured that the reason the same publishers were willing to issue two books was that they wished to publish Howard's book in paper covers at twenty-five cents and sell that of Howells' in cloth binding at a dollar. Howells wrote the life of Lincoln only; the life of Hamlin in his volume was prepared by John L. Hayes. Neither name appeared on the title-page, but each of the sketches carried the author's name at the top. Howard's book is now very scarce; next to the Vose volume it is most difficult to obtain of the 1860 lives.

(8) *The Scripps Pamphlet.* By this time the Chicago *Tribune,* the New York *Tribune* and the Denver *Tribune* were announcing "a life of Lincoln by an Illinois politician, who knew Lincoln." It was to be

[10] Oliver R. Barrett owns Lincoln's original copy of newspaper clipping and manuscript for this volume. I own a copy of the printed book which Lincoln gave to his German editor, Dr. Theodor Canisius.

[11] Life and Letters of William Dean Howells, I, p. 36.

issued as a thirty-two page pamphlet, with double columns of newspaper width, to sell at five cents a copy, forty cents a dozen, $3.50 a hundred or $20.00 a thousand. That Illinois politician was John Locke Scripps. The pamphlet was issued July 14, 1860, and instead of being the first published life of Lincoln it was the eighth. It was so carefully done, it has almost the value of an autobiography. It is the most wholly reliable of the 1860 lives.

The only campaign lives of Lincoln in foreign languages in 1860 were a translation of Howard's, which Fish believed was undoubtedly the first life of Lincoln in any foreign language, and a book of 108 pages published in Chicago by Hoffgen and Schneider. I do not think Judge Fish had ever heard of the latter book, of which I have seen only one copy. That copy, I am glad to state, is in safe hands—my own.

Although the period 1860-1864 is essentially an era of campaign biographies, mention should be made of the first juvenile life of Lincoln, written by William M. Thayer, and published in 1863. This book has continued for many years to be popular, and has been translated into German, Greek and other modern languages.

When in 1864, Lincoln was nominated for a second term, he was known as a war-time president who had called an enormous army into the field, had prosecuted and was still vigorously prosecuting a great civil war; had strained the Constitution to limits that exceeded those ever employed by other presidents; had signed, as a war measure, the Emancipation Proclamation, whose merits and effects were hotly debated; had delivered very few addresses except a two-minutes' talk at Gettysburg and a few perfunctory responses to serenades; had joked and told stories, and pardoned a good many men most of whom deserved to be shot; and who was lauded and loathed, adored and hated, but still not very well known. The campaign biographies of 1864 undertook to make him better known.

Compared with the enterprise of those who undertook to introduce Abraham Lincoln to the nation in 1860, the 1864 biographies are colorless and disappointing. None of them attempt any new study of the old material. They merely add with shears and paste-brush data concerning the war, and pad out the books to the length desired. Barrett's book was reissued with appended matter; but there was no reprinting of the Wide-awake, the Wigwam or the Vose books; and Howard and Howells rested on their earlier laurels. It is a pity that no new biography of note appeared. Henry J. Raymond issued in 1864 a campaign book entitled *President Lincoln's Administration,* but it was not a biography; though it furnished material for Raymond's biography in 1865.

2. LINCOLN, THE LIBERATOR AND MARTYR

During the campaign of 1864, a New York firm that published dime novels issued an attractive little booklet written by O. J. Victor, giving the life story of Lincoln. It proved popular among soldiers, some of whom were already readers of the Beadle Dime Novels.[12] As soon

[12] I own a copy of Victor's *Life of Lincoln,* which a soldier carried in his knapsack with his New Testament from the 1864 campaign until the end of the war.

as Lincoln died, Beadle issued a new edition of this book, with a few pages prefaced, containing an account of Lincoln's death and funeral.

A Philadelphia firm, T. B. Peterson & Brothers, published in 1864 a campaign life of Lincoln, now known to have been written by David Brainerd Williamson. A number of editions of this work trod on each other's heels after Lincoln's death, the main part of the book treating of Lincoln as still living and the latter part telling of his death and funeral and of the trial of the conspirators.

These two books bridged the gulf between the books about Lincoln living and Lincoln dead.

When Abraham Lincoln died, in 1865, a group of men in Washington who had longest and most closely been associated with the deceased President met and planned for his funeral. Among them were such men as Judge David Davis who had traveled the circuit with him for many years, often sharing the same room with him; Orville H. Browning who had succeeded Stephen A. Douglas as Senator and had known Lincoln since the two were together in the Illinois legislature, and who, with his wife, moved to the White House and remained with the Lincolns when little Willie was sick and died; and other Illinois officials whose association with Lincoln had been nearly as long and as intimate. Senator Browning in his diary says that these men agreed that none of them knew Abraham Lincoln very well.

The sermons preached, the eulogies pronounced, after the death of Lincoln, show that the orators of the country were not very well acquainted with the subject of their eulogy. The country as a whole had not yet determined in what niche of the temple of fame, if any, his statue belonged. What the nation next learned about him, the material out of which it constructed its ideal of Lincoln, was furnished by the biographies of 1865 and 1866.

At the time of Lincoln's death, perhaps no writer was assembling data for the definite purpose of producing a biography, William H. Herndon had preserved, and almost immediately hastened to augment, invaluable biographical material, and John Hay had been keeping a diary of events which largely concerned Lincoln. Neither of these men, however, was prepared for the prompt publication of a life of Lincoln, nor did either of them issue such a work until many years afterward. The task of interpreting to the world the whole life story of Lincoln fell to a group of men as unprepared as those who had hastily crowded their books through the press in 1860. Yet the biographies of 1865, making bricks with scanty and hastily gathered straw, helped to define the world's ideal of Lincoln.

Of the eight biographers mentioned in the bibliography as having prepared lives of Lincoln in 1860, only one, Joseph H. Barrett, was among the 1864 biographers. He also wrote a life of Lincoln in 1865; but no other of the 1864 biographers except Henry J. Raymond, attempted a "complete" life of Lincoln in 1865 or succeeding years. But for this single exception in each group the biographers of 1860 were distinct from those of 1864, and the biographers who in 1865 and immediately succeeding years set out to tell the whole story of the life of Lincoln, J. G. Holland, Dr. Brockett, Frank Crosby and Mrs. Hanaford,

all came new to the task. Virtually the slate was cleared at the end of each period and a new group of biographical writers came forward to interpret Lincoln in a new aspect. Of the 1865-6 biographies, those of Joseph H. Barrett, L. P. Brockett, Henry J. Raymond and Josiah G. Holland may be spoken of as worthy of favorable mention, that of Holland being distinctly the best.

In strict logical arrangement the life of Lincoln by his long-time friend, Isaac N. Arnold, belongs in the post-bellum group. It appeared as a complete life of Lincoln in 1885; but the germ of it was in Arnold's *Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery* (1866) from which was extracted the biographical sketch which appeared in a thin volume in 1869, and became a good sized book in 1885. These books must be listed in the years in which, separately, they were published; but logically Arnold's gracious volume belongs to the later sixties.

3. THE REALISTIC LINCOLN, 1872-1889.

The third period is bounded at the beginning and end by the notable books of Lamon and of Herndon. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln; from his birth to his inauguration as President* by Ward Hill Lamon was published by James R. Osgood & Company of Boston in 1872. It was based on manuscripts gathered by William H. Herndon, who sold copies of the same to Lamon. Of some portions Lamon may have been the author, but the statement of Herndon that Chauncey F. Black "wrote quite every word of it" agrees substantially with information given long afterward by a member of the Osgood firm, and is abundantly sustained by papers in the Library of Congress.

The Lamon biography was cynical and unsympathetic, and we are at liberty to believe that this was not the spirit of Lamon, who, rough and bluff and a man of not very fine taste, still honored Lincoln, which Black certainly did not. The first of the Lincoln lives which have come to be known in recent years as "de-bunking," it was the beginning of analytical and critical Lincoln biography. With all that it contained that was objectionable in matter and in tone, it was a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Lincoln. It had been planned for issue in two volumes; but the first volume, which brought the narrative down to the inauguration of 1860, evoked so much opposition that the second volume never was published. A twenty-first chapter, intended for the first volume, was suppressed, and the manuscript of that chapter, which I discovered in the Library of Congress, is in the handwriting of Chauncey F. Black, and accompanied by a manuscript, on which the chapter is manifestly based, in the handwriting of Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, who had been Secretary of War under Buchanan and was a strong opponent of Lincoln. A copy of Lamon's *Life of Lincoln,* presented to a Democratic editor by Chauncey F. Black, who in that inscription declared himself the author, is owned by the present writer. The publishers, James F. Osgood & Company of Boston, declining to issue the second volume, offered the plates and unbound sheets of the first volume to both Lamon and Chauncey F. Black, their letters being in the Library of Congress.

Some of the material for Lamon's second volume was utilized by his daughter, Dorothy Lamon (afterward Mme. Teillard) in *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln,* by Ward Hill Lamon, 1895.

In 1889, William H. Herndon, who had been for twenty years law partner of Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, issued his *Herndon's Lincoln; the True Story of a Great Life.* He was assisted by Jesse W. Weik. The work was in three volumes. It marked the high peak of the realistic period introduced by Lamon and used the same manuscript material.

The work produced much unfavorable comment and ceased to sell. The statement that it was suppressed appears to be without foundation; it simply was not a financial success. Attempts to sell by agents and through the trade were alike futile. It was peddled out as a publisher's remainder, and is in all important libraries.

Three years later, in 1892, D. Appleton & Company of New York brought out a new edition of Herndon, with a very few omissions, that might better not have been made, since they created the impression that there had been more revision than actually had occurred, and with a new chapter by Horace White on the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

The original work has been reissued in recent years by a Springfield firm and is sold at a low price.

In 1893, Jesse Weik, in a volume entitled *The Real Lincoln* made use, and to some extent good use, of the same material.

Albert J. Beveridge, in his first volume issued in 1928, made still further use of the same manuscripts, furnished to him by Jesse W. Weik. But there was little to be gathered out of a fourth threshing of the old straw. Beveridge's book would have been better in some respects if he had not attempted to extract much new knowledge from those documents.

Although Herndon's book has been justly criticized, it is an invaluable source-book and the primer of all careful students of the life of Lincoln.

4. THE DOCUMENTARY LINCOLN, 1890

The fourth period must stand marked with a single work, that of Nicolay and Hay. Whatever else appeared at about the same time was so distinctly subordinate that it deserves no mark of distinction as belonging to the period.

John G. Nicolay and John Hay had been secretaries of Abraham Lincoln during his life in the White House. Hay had kept lively and readable journals of daily happenings. Nicolay had treasured many important papers. These two men received from Robert T. Lincoln the private papers which had been his father's. The *Century* Magazine undertook the serial publication of this material under the title, *Abraham Lincoln: A History.* In some respects the work was disappointing. It is evident that the authors at times were very weary of their task. The result has been called "a colossal inadequacy." But it is an invaluable source. Robert T. Lincoln did not permit his papers to be used by other Lincoln scholars during his lifetime, and he left in his will a provision that they should not be used for a period of twenty-one years after his

death. This arbitrary restriction waked the deep and justifiable resentment of living authors and is without good reason. However, it is not likely that much of value, comparatively speaking, remains in the locked-up manuscripts. Nicolay and Hay used probably 98 per cent of Lincoln's own writing in the papers; but there are valuable sidelights in letters to Lincoln.

This biography was issued in 1890 by the Century Company in ten volumes. It is a mine of wealth to the Lincoln student, but it cannot be called a great biography.

This book stands, and must stand alone. It is likely to be referred to less and less as a biography and more and more as a source. It not only fills the decade from 1890 to 1900, but it carries over into all subsequent periods.

5. THE LINCOLN OF THE POPULAR MAGAZINES, 1896–1900.

S. S. McClure, founder and editor of *McClure's Magazine,* employed Miss Ida M. Tarbell to write for his magazine a life of Lincoln. His choice was a remarkably good one. Miss Tarbell went at her task with enthusiasm, discrimination, and rare journalistic ability. Assisted by J. McCan Davis of Springfield, Illinois, she issued in 1896 *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln,* an attractive reprint of magazine articles she had contributed to McClure's. She followed this immediately with chapters on the later life of Lincoln and these were issued in two volumes, in 1900, as *The Life of Abraham Lincoln.*

These two volumes contained much new and valuable material. The book was honest, vivid, human. It is difficult to estimate the value of Miss Tarbell's contribution. As one who has had frequent occasion to differ with Miss Tarbell in matters of opinion, I testify to the value which the reading of her book gave to me and of its influence on the reading community then and since.

The book has been reissued several times, sometimes in two volumes and sometimes in four. And Miss Tarbell has written other books on Lincoln, some of them of value. Her great book, however, is the *Life,* and it stands alone as defining its period.

After Miss Tarbell, no notable Life of Lincoln appeared for a long time. More was said and printed about him than ever before, but it did not take the form of biography. There were good books, of which I like to remember the *Life of Lincoln* by Charles Carleton Coffin, published in 1893. He had been for years a correspondent of the Boston *Journal;* had reported the Chicago convention of 1860 and accompanied the special train to Springfield; he had been much in Washington during the Civil War. He wrote interestingly, reverently and effectively. His books were intended primarily for the young, and his *Life of Lincoln* was of most value to young people.

Books appeared discussing phases of Lincoln's life and character; reminiscences and incidents found their way into print; there were sermons and addresses in increasing number, culminating in a flood of periodical literature in 1909, the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth. That celebration evoked a flood of Lincoln literature. There were innumerable poems, essays, tributes, sermons and addresses; but,

strange as it may appear, it produced no life of Lincoln worth mention in this connection.

6. THE INTERNATIONAL LINCOLN, 1916–1919.

The sixth epoch in Lincoln biography began across the sea. The World War gave emphasis to the common heritage of English speaking peoples on both sides of the ocean. Lord Charnwood, who as Godfrey Rathbone Benson had once spent a few months in Iowa, and had this measure of knowledge of life in the interior of the United States, had been educated at Baliol, Oxford, and was for a time a tutor there. He became mayor of his home town, Lichfield, and in 1911 was made first Baron Charnwood. Under the impulse of the World War he studied the life of Lincoln, and undertook to prepare what he called a tract with Abraham Lincoln as his theme. Although there were many things in frontier life which he did not well understand, he brought to his study of Lincoln ripe scholarship and an ardent and understanding spirit. His book was welcomed and applauded on both sides of the water. Lord Charnwood was born in 1864 and was 52 years old when he wrote this, his first and most successful book.

One of the first fruits of Charnwood's volume was the production of a play, *Abraham Lincoln,* by John Drinkwater, an English poet and dramatist. He was born in 1882 and was 34 when Charnwood's book appeared. Two years later, in 1918, his play was produced. The effect in England was remarkable; and more surprising still was its success in the United States. Relying almost wholly on Charnwood, and not wishing to engage in further study of Lincoln, "lest he blur the picture" which Charnwood's book had created in his mind, he produced a play which, judged critically, is wrong in every possible detail, but strangely right in its emotional emphasis.

I do not suppose that any of us whose books on Lincoln have appeared since then were consciously influenced to any great extent by these two English productions; but certainly the popular mind and the market for Lincoln literature were affected by this double wave of interest in Lincoln that washed back to these shores from across the Atlantic.

In the same year in which John Drinkwater's play appeared the Yale University Series brought out a concise volume on *Abraham Lincoln and the Union* by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. He followed this with a larger work in 1922, entitled simply *Lincoln.* The latter work undertook an analysis of Lincoln's mind in his supposed approach to his successive problems.

In 1923 Clark Prescott Bissett issued his *Abraham Lincoln, a Universal Man,* an interpretation and a worthy tribute.

7. THE LINCOLN OF CURRENT BIOGRAPHY, 1920.

We are now in another period of Lincoln biography. It is not markedly influenced by earlier affirmations or appraisals, but is based on original research and a perspective such as the earlier biographers did not generally have and whose need they could hardly have understood. It is constructive, and not iconoclastic, but it attempts to face the

truth and to interpret Lincoln to men and women who never saw him, and who want truth rather than indiscriminate eulogy or partisan attack. And this is likely to be the spirit of the biography of the future.

The lengthening perspective of more than sixty years, the assembling of material which at the beginning was unavailable or undiscovered, has enabled these biographers to retrace the way that had been traversed by earlier writers, and to present to a generation that was born since the Civil War a growing Lincoln, who has greatened with the passing of the years. These writers have inherited the labors of those who preceded them and have added much as the fruit of their own studies.

In 1920 William E. Barton issued a volume entitled *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln,* which, while dealing primarily with Lincoln's religious development, was a study of his entire life in its spiritual relation to his successive environments. In 1925, following several intervening works on Lincoln, the same author issued his *Life of Abraham Lincoln* in two volumes, and has since issued other books, which, while supplementing his biography at certain points, need not be listed here.

Carl Sandburg, born in Galesburg, Illinois, in 1878, wrote several volumes of poems, and in 1926 published his *Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years,* in two volumes. It is a prose-poem, rather than a conventional biography, and it displays wide reading and an honest spirit of inquiry as well as an attractive style.

Senator Albert J. Beveridge, who was born in Ohio in 1862, and spent his boyhood in a pioneer community in Illinois, having completed his monumental work on John Marshall (1916-1919), undertook a similar work on Lincoln. He lived to complete one volume and nearly to complete a second, which brought the narrative down to the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. These two volumes, the work of much painstaking devotion, were published in 1928, a year after the author's lamented decease.

These three works by Beveridge, Sandburg and Barton are by a politician, a poet and a preacher. They differ widely in method and style. But they have this in common, that their authors have made industrious effort to learn the truth, and to tell it each in his own manner. These men, who may perhaps be regarded as a group typical of their generation, view Lincoln's life in perspective and interpret it constructively. They are neither indiscriminate eulogists nor ruthless muckrakers, but honest men. And the indications are that the reading public of this generation desires such men as their interpreters of Lincoln.

III. Biography as a Creative Art

One's first impression of Lincoln biography as thus reviewed is of its miscellaneous and almost heterogeneous character. But if not many of the books we have thus rapidly considered have been great books, most of them have been sincere ones, and the Lincoln who has emerged from them into a popular ideal is neither untrue to fact nor unworthy

of a place among the world's heroes. And the Lincoln of the popular ideal is the Lincoln of the biographers, for it is the Lincoln of their creation.

In the popular mind, a biographer is an author who learns the facts about his hero and writes them with his own ink and secures their publication in the form of a book. This is not an utterly untrue description of a biographer, but it is quite inadequate. No biographer can possibly learn all the facts about his hero, or utilize all that he learns. His art is selective, and inevitably partakes of his own personal qualities. He is a painter, not a photographer, and no painter can make a portrait of another person without putting into it something of himself. The sculptor gave a wise answer to one who inquired how he made statues, "I take a block of marble and what I don't want I knock off." No two sculptors or biographers select identical blocks, or precisely agree as to what should be knocked off.

It thus follows that biography is a creative art. The Greek name for poet was "creator." A biographer is likewise a creator. He does more than copy the biographical data of *Who's Who* with slightly fuller amplification. While his art differs from that of the writer of fiction, he is as truly an artist, as truly a disciple of the creative imagination, as any writer of fiction can be. Not only facts, but the relation between facts, and the relation of these both subjective and objective to the hero, are his data. If a biographer could write the bare facts, his would be a most uninteresting and unprofitable book, and it would not be a biography; it becomes biography only when it becomes interpretative, creative. Biography involves a constant use of the imagination, chastened and controlled, to be sure, but as active in biography as in fiction or in any other form of art. Biography is a creative art.

The earliest of the four Gospels, that of Mark, contains the essential facts about Jesus. Both Matthew and Luke had that Gospel before them when they wrote. Matthew made his biography of Jesus as a Jewish Messiah fulfilling Old Testament prophecy. Luke interpreted his life as a friend of humanity. The New Testament contains at least five biographical sketches of Jesus, the four in the Gospels and that of the Pauline writings. They are all true, but their differences are not accidental. Perhaps that one is the truest which deals most freely with facts and has in it most of the personality of the biographer, the Gospel according to John. We simply can not tell in that biography when Jesus is speaking and when John is giving his interpretation of Jesus.

Furthermore, as that one of the four Gospels which by agreement of all scholars was written last, and which is most of them all interpretative and has in it most of the personality of the biographer, has ever approved itself to the mind of Christendom as most faithfully portraying the mind of the Master, and has caused, not Mark the earliest and least interpretative, but John the last and most so, to be the best loved, so in a very real sense must the later biographies of Lincoln find, discover and disclose, the possibility of being more accurate, more creative and more valuable in revealing the real man than the earlier ones could possibly do or have done.

I am saying this to make plain the creative function of the biographer. The number of men who can know personally any one man is limited in number by conditions of time and place. Most people who know any historic character must know him through the biographies, and every biography, whether in the Bible or out of it, is an interpretation, and creates its character. As the old Church fathers were wont to say, divine inspiration has respect unto the Johnicity of John and the Paulicity of Paul.

It would have been quite useless to send men for any great length of time after the death of any hero in order to learn about him from those who had known him. Even in the case of Jesus of Nazareth the plan which appears first to have suggested itself to the disciples of keeping the personality of Jesus a living one by choosing successors to Judas and possibly of other deceased apostles and limiting the choice to those who had known Him from the beginning of his ministry had to be abandoned; and Christianity was kept alive by men like Paul who had never seen Jesus, and by biographers like the four evangelists, some of whom, at least, as Luke frankly declared had been true of himself, obtained their facts from others. We can not keep Lincoln alive by means of the personal recollections of those who knew him. These have never been an infallible source of knowledge, and the brief limits of human life make it certain that this source of supply must soon fail utterly. It is in the biographies that we are to find and perpetuate the undying Lincoln.

After Lincoln had been nominated, a number of artists went to Springfield to paint his portrait. Lincoln was very busy, but it was arranged that these artists should set up their easels in the Representatives Hall, now the circuit court room. Each morning Lincoln, coming to his temporary office in the Capitol building, sat for a little time in the Hall where the artists worked, and permitted the artists to paint him from life, while he opened and read his mail. The easels were, of course, in different parts of the room, and the several portraits exhibited him from different angles and in varying lights. These portraits were made at the same time, but of course no two of them are alike.

Of course no two biographies agree in their estimate of Lincoln. One biographer thinks of him primarily as a lawyer, another as a politician, another as a man who surmounted difficulties and achieved success, another as a man of mercy, another as the man who freed the slaves. Each biographer endeavors to tell the whole truth as it seems to him essential, but no biographer ever does or ever can tell the whole truth, and the Bible itself is as good an illustration as we need of this fact.

In order to save any misconception in speaking of the biographer's art as creative, let me use another illustration. In all the great statues of Lincoln the sculptor uses the life-mask and the hands that were cast by Leonard W. Volk. These permanent and invaluable records preserve to us forever the bony and muscular development of Lincoln's face and hands. But no sculptor stops there. Not even Volk himself failed to add something by way of interpretation. Other sculptors as divergent in their interpretation as Barnard and St. Gaudens, as Gutzon

Borglum and Lorado Taft, base their work on the same casts of face and hands. Every sculptor creates his Lincoln, and to the same extent the biographer does the same and must do so. If he fails in this he fails beyond remedy.

Job expressed the wish that his adversary would write a book. He might well have wished that some of his friends would write one, and write it about Job. Job would have perished out of human knowledge if a book had not been written about him. It is only through that book that we know Job. Lincoln, accepting the gift of a Bible from the colored people of Washington, and speaking of its value, said that from that book we learn all that we know about the Saviour of mankind. In the same sense, the world's knowledge of Lincoln is and must be biographical knowledge. Lincoln as a man we do not and shall not know through any disclosure of his features and personality to the senses of the present generation. The biographies have shaped and are still to shape that ideal character whom the world knows as Abraham Lincoln.

If it is true as Emerson says that

> "One accent of the Holy Ghost
> The heedless world has never lost"

it is because not all men of the world have been heedless. Some men have listened, and recorded and interpreted. Their work has not been a mere gathering of the fragments that nothing be lost; it has been an integration of the fragments into unity and life.

Abraham Lincoln traveled his Illinois circuit, and he never traveled much beside. Broadly speaking, not many people knew him when he was nominated in 1860. Not many people now living ever saw him. The Lincoln whom the world knows is of necessity, and must continue to be, the Lincoln of the biographers. They are and will continue to be the creators of the literary Lincoln, that is of the living Lincoln. They do not create the facts, but they create the character which they assemble the facts to portray. In order to know Lincoln as the world does know and is to know him we must reckon with the biographers.

The materials for the life of Lincoln are in the reminiscences of those who knew him, a source of real but of widely diversified value; in the pages of the journals of the Illinois General Assembly and of Congress; in executive documents and in one hundred and fifty and more volumes of official documents of the Civil war; in records of courts from the Eighth Judicial District of Illinois to the Supreme Court of the United States; in newspapers and pamphlets innumerable and in other and remote letters and papers from which facts or alleged facts may be gleaned. But it would be idle and fatuous to expect that the reading public will go to these sources and make, each for himself, his own Abraham Lincoln. Even to the experienced biographers these materials are like Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones. He views them with a kind of horrified amazement, and hears a voice inquiring, "Son of man, can these bones live?" With deep searchings of heart he replies, "O Lord, thou knowest." Not till the genius of the biographer, be it little or large, brings bone to bone, is there the beginning of articulation, and even then the product is merely a skeleton till the breath of

the biographer's own life is breathed into the creation, and Lincoln lives again in a book.

Those of us who write books about Lincoln have to bear patiently with our friends who inquire of us in monotonous and wearisome incredulity, "What, another book about Lincoln? What more can be left to say? Are you not simply threshing the old straw over again?" Some of us emphatically desire that we shall not be understood as doing anything of the kind. Nor are we mere gleaners in a field that has often been reaped and harvested. We have discovered new areas for cultivation, and we believe that in some particulars we are reaping more abundant harvests than any of our predecessors. And we know that we have not reached the limits.

Moreover, we have some reason to expect a market for our products. The interest of the public in Abraham Lincoln has been of steady growth. His birthday is a legal holiday in several states, and is observed as a patriotic anniversary in schools, churches and social and literary organizations. The inevitable result is a desire for wider and more accurate knowledge of Lincoln, superseding to some extent at least the far too large supply of fable and myth.

Looking back over the successive periods of literary activity in the field of Lincoln biography, we are impressed with the sincerity with which the greater number of those who have attempted to tell the story of his life have prosecuted their work, and with the very considerable degree of success which has attended the efforts of many of them. But we are even more impressed with the necessity that the pen of the biographer of Lincoln shall not rest. New books about Lincoln are inevitable; but books that tell his life-story truthfully and with right emphasis are still not only desirable, but almost imperative.

No longer may Abraham Lincoln be seen walking the streets of Springfield, wearing his old gray shawl and his battered stove-pipe hat. Nor can we depend upon the fading memories of those who thus beheld him in their childhood and who seek to recall him as they saw him. They can not clarify to our vision the image that is much blurred by the mists of legend and tradition. What Lincoln did and said constitute an ideal that in a sense remains apart from his personality; but we still require a right interpretation of that personality as the incarnation of his deeds and words. It is the duty and the high privilege of the conscientious biographer to preserve to the world the undying Abraham Lincoln.

IV. The First Lincoln Biography

Having thus traced the birth and progress of Lincoln biography from its beginning to the present time, let us go back to that bleak December day when Jesse W. Fell received from Abraham Lincoln the three pages of his autobiography, and discover what was done with them by the Pennsylvania lawyer to whom Mr. Fell sent them, prefacing the little biography with a brief sketch of the life of Joseph J. Lewis himself:

"Joseph J. Lewis was born October 5, 1801, at Westtown School, Chester County, Pennsylvania, where his father was a teacher of mathematics. The father, Enoch Lewis, returned to New Garden to his own school in 1808, and

there Joseph J. Lewis attended and received his education. Joseph J. Lewis taught in Friends' School of Philadelphia and in Chester County Academy at West Chester. He studied law under Chancellor Kent in New York and in 1825 was admitted to the Chester County bar. He married Mary Miner. He was Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania in 1844. He defended the abolitionists Castner Hanway and Passmore Williamson. He was one of the foremost of Pennsylvania Republicans in support of Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency, and was appointed by Lincoln Commissioner of Internal Revenue from 1863 to 1865. While no report of his conversation giving exact words is of record, there was such conversation in which Lincoln expressed his appreciation of the influence of this biographical sketch."

And now, for the first time since it appeared in the Chester County *Times,* and served the newspapers and biographical writers of 1860, let us read the original biography of the man who became in 1861 the President of the United States:

THE FIRST PUBLISHED LIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By Joseph J. Lewis

Published (unsigned) in *Chester County Times,* Westchester, Pa., February 11, 1860

For the Chester County Times

Abraham Lincoln

Among the distinguished men who, by their patriotism and eloquence, have assisted to create and sustain the party of constitutional freedom which now predominates in most of the free States, there is no one who has a firmer hold on the confidence and affections of the people of the Great West, or is more an object of their enthusiastic admiration, than Abraham Lincoln of Springfield, Illinois. No traveller that visits the valley of the Mississippi, north of the Ohio, can fail to be impressed with the unrivalled popularity of that eminent Republican chief throughout that whole region; and it is impossible to doubt that he will be vigorously pressed upon the Chicago Convention by the representatives of a large and earnest constituency as a proper standard bearer of our great national party in the impending struggle for the Presidency. In consequence of the position he occupies in the regards of our western brethren, as a champion of the Republican faith, I have been interested to inquire into the incidents of his life and the prominent traits of his character. I now furnish you with the result of my inquiries, though they have been attended with but moderate success and have elicited much less than I reasonably hoped to obtain.

Abraham Lincoln is a native of Hardin County, Kentucky. He was born on the 12th day of February, 1809. His parents were both born in Virginia, and were certainly not of the first families. His paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham County, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 2, where a year or two later he was killed by Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, while he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were respectable members of the Society of Friends, went to Virginia from

Berks County, Pennsylvania. Descendants of the same stock still reside in the eastern parts of this State.

Mr. Lincoln's father, at the death of his father, was but 6 years of age and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in 1816. The family reached their new home about the time the State was admitted into the Union. The region in which they settled was rude and wild, and they endured for some years the hard experience of a frontier life, in which the struggle with nature for existence and security is to be maintained only by constant vigilance and efforts. Bears, wolves and other noxious animals still infested the woods and young Lincoln acquired more skill in the use of the rifle than knowledge of books. There were institutions here and there known by the flattering denomination of "schools," but no qualification was required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin' and cypherin'," as the vernacular phrase ran, as far as the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard and regarded with an awe suited to so mysterious a character. Hard work and plenty of it was the order of the day; varied, indeed, by an occasional bear hunt, a not infrequent deer chase or other wild sport. Of course when young Lincoln came of age he was not a scholar. He could read and write and had some knowledge of arithmetic, but that was about all; and, as yet, he had but little ambition to know more of what was to be found in books. His attainments otherwise were not to be despised. He had grown to be six feet four inches in stature, was active and athletic, could wield the axe, direct the plough or use the rifle as well as the best of his compeers, and was fully up to all the mysteries of the woods, to the deeper mysteries of prairie farming, and fully inured to hardship and toil. Since he arrived at age he has not been at school. Whatever his acquirements are, they have been picked up from time to time as opportunity occurred or as the pressure of some exigency demanded.

At twenty-one he removed to Illinois and passed the first year in Macon County, in active labour on a farm. Then he got to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard County, where he remained about a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk War. A company of volunteers was raised in New Salem and the surrounding country, and young Lincoln was elected captain—a success which, as he has often said, gave him more pleasure than any he has since enjoyed. He served with credit during the campaign and became popular. On his return in the fall of 1832 he was a candidate for the Legislature and ran, but was beaten. This was the only time that he has ever failed of an election by the people when he has sought their suffrages. The next and three succeeding biennial elections he was elected to the Legislature and served with distinguished reputation in that body. While a member of the Legislature he first gave indications of his superior powers as a debater and he increased, by frequent practice, his natural facility for public speaking. His latent ambition was excited by success and he improved industriously the opportunities that offered of self cultivation. From the position of a subaltern in the ranks of the Whig party, a posi-

tion which was appropriately assigned him by his unaffected modesty and humble pretensions, he soon became recognized and acknowledged as a champion and a leader, and his unvarying courtesy, good nature and genial manners, united with a certain lofty disinterestedness and generous abnegation of self, made him a universal favorite.

During his legislative period he studied law and, removing to Springfield, he opened an office and engaged actively in practice. Business flowed in upon him and he rose rapidly to distinction in his profession. He displayed remarkable ability as an advocate in jury trials and many of his law arguments were masterpieces of logical reasoning. There was no refined artificiality in his forensic efforts. They all bore the stamp of masculine common sense; and he had a natural, easy mode of illustration that made the most abstruse subjects appear plain. His success at the bar, however, did not withdraw his attention from politics. For many years he was the "wheel horse" of the Whig party in Illinois and was on the electoral ticket in several presidential campaigns. At such times he canvassed the State with his usual vigor and ability. He was an ardent friend of Henry Clay and exerted himself powerfully in his behalf in 1844, traversing the entire State of Illinois and addressing public meetings daily until near the close of the campaign when, becoming convinced that his labors in that field would be unavailing, he crossed over into Indiana and continued his efforts up to the day of the election. The contest of that year in Illinois was mainly on the question of the tariff. Mr. Lincoln, on the Whig side, and John Calhoun, on the Democratic side, were the heads of the opposing electoral tickets. Calhoun, late of Nebraska, now dead, was then in the full vigor of his really great powers and was accounted the ablest debater of his party. They stumped the State together, or nearly so, making speeches usually on alternate days at each place and each addressing large audiences at great length, sometimes four hours together. Mr. Lincoln, in these elaborate speeches, evinced a thorough mastery of the principles of political economy which underlie the tariff question and presented arguments in favor of the protective policy with a power and conclusiveness rarely equalled, and at the same time in a manner so lucid and familiar and so well interspersed with happy illustrations and apposite anecdotes as to secure the delighted attention of his auditory.

Mr. Lincoln has been a consistent and earnest tariff man from the first hour of his entering public life. He is such from principle and from a deeply rooted conviction of the wisdom of the protective policy; and whatever influence he may hereafter exert upon the government will be in favor of that policy.

In 1846 he was elected to Congress and served out his term; and he would have been re-elected had he not declined to be a candidate. As to the character of his services in that body, my information does not enable me to speak particularly.

In the National Convention of 1848, of which he was a member, he advocated the nomination of General Taylor, and sustained the nomination by an active and energetic canvass of his own State. In 1852 he was equally efficient in his efforts for General Scott, and was consid-

ered by the Whigs of Illinois and of the Northwest as one of their ablest and wisest leaders.

From 1849 to 1854, Mr. Lincoln was engaged assiduously in the practice of his profession, and being deeply immersed in business, was beginning to lose his interest in politics, when the scheming ambition and groveling selfishness of an unscrupulous aspirant to the Presidency brought about the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. That act of baseness and perfidy aroused the sleeping lion and he prepared for new efforts. He threw himself at once into the contest that followed and fought the battle of freedom on the ground of his former conflicts in Illinois with more than his accustomed energy and zeal. He fully appreciated the importance of the slavery issue, and felt the force of the moral causes that must influence the question, and he never failed to appeal to the moral sentiment of the people in aid of the argument drawn from political sources, and to illuminate his theme with the lofty inspirations of an eloquence, pleading for the rights of humanity. A revolution swept the State. For the first time a majority of the legislature of Illinois was opposed to the Democratic administration of the federal government. They were not, however, all free-soilers in principle. A small body of Anti-Nebraska Democrats held the balance of power. This circumstance gave occasion for a striking exhibition of Mr. Lincoln's habitual magnanimity. A United States Senator was to be elected in place of Gen. Shields, who had yielded to the influence of his less scrupulous colleague and, against his own better judgment, had voted for the Kansas-Nebraska act. Mr. Lincoln was the admitted leader of the opposition and was universally regarded as their candidate for senator. Governor Matteson was the candidate of the Nebraska Democrats and Lyman Trumbull of the handful of Anti-Nebraska Democrats in the legislature. The election came on, and a number of ballots were taken, the almost united opposition voting steadily for Lincoln, but a few Anti-Nebraska Democrats for Trumbull. Mr. Lincoln became apprehensive that those men would vote for and elect Matteson, and to prevent such a consummation he went personally to his friends and by strong persuasion induced them to vote for Trumbull. He thus secured, by an act of generous self-sacrifice, a triumph for the cause of right, and an advocate of it on the floor of the Senate, not inferior in earnest zeal for the principles of republicanism to any member of that body. It was not without difficulty, however, that this object was accomplished. The opposition throughout the State had with great unanimity looked to Mr. Lincoln to represent Illinois in the Senate, and it was with great reluctance that their representatives in the legislature could be induced to disappoint their constituents by giving their votes to another.

From his thorough conviction of the growing magnitude of the slave question and of the need of a strong effort to preserve the territories to freedom, Mr. Lincoln was among the first to join in the formation of the Republican party, although the public opinion around him was strongly adverse to that movement. He exerted himself for the organization of the Republican forces in Illinois, and attended the first Republican convention held in the State. That was at Bloomington in

May, 1856. His speech in that convention was of surprising power and eloquence, and produced great effect. In the contest of that year Mr. Lincoln was at the head of the Illinois electoral ticket, and labored earnestly, though vainly, to wrest that State from the grasp of the pro-slavery democracy, with "the walking magazine of mischief," at its head.

When the campaign of 1858 was about to open the voice of the Republican party of Illinois was so unanimous and enthusiastic in his favor as the successor of Judge Douglas, that in a full State convention of over five hundred delegates the unusual step was taken of nominating him for that office by acclamation. The enthusiasm of the delegates in convention extended to their constituents. The party went into the contest with the name of Lincoln on all their banners, instituted Lincoln clubs, wore Lincoln badges, and held Lincoln meetings at almost every school house in the State. The respective parties were marshaled under leaders, who were fitting representatives of the principles of each. Lincoln, the consistent advocate of institutional government, cognizant of indefeasible rights, and animated and controlled by a sense of human responsibility independent of conventional rules placed himself upon the battlements of the constitution, and summoned to his side the friends of law, order and humanity. Douglas, in the spirit of a system which assigns all power to a majority and flatters the people in the concrete, while it cheats the individual of all security for his personal rights, appealed to popular prejudice and to the antipathies of race. The one held slavery to be an institution in conflict with the principles of free government, wholly dependent upon positive law, and never to be extended where it could be legitimately prohibited; while the other averred that the despotic will of any majority, though of a community existing only in a state of pupilage under the guardianship of federal authority ought to be competent to establish it without question by that authority and without regard to moral considerations. The contest excited intense interest and was maintained with infinite spirit. Lincoln, after vainly attempting to draw his wary opponent into a joint canvass of the entire State, met him in seven great debates in as many Congressional Districts, and in the opinion of every candid judge fairly overthrew him in argument on all controverted points. The result was, that though a majority of the popular vote was obtained by Lincoln, Douglas obtained by the instrumentality of an old and grossly unequal apportionment of the districts a majority of the Representatives and thus secured his re-election to the United States Senate.

Since that great contest, Mr. Lincoln has repeatedly given his powerful aid, in support of the Republican cause in other States, as in Ohio, Wisconsin and Kansas during the present year and, in every instance, he has been received with enthusiasm by the people, evincive of the hold he has on the popular heart. Wherever he speaks he draws together large crowds of interested listeners upon whom he never fails to make a marked impression. Though a ready and fluent speaker, he avoids declamation and is never betrayed into mere word-painting, which his good taste habitually rejects. He abhors emptiness as heartily as did the great Webster in his prime, and employs as the vehicle of his thoughts a style of singular clearness and simplicity. In his statement of facts

he is scrupulously accurate, and to every opponent he exhibits the utmost fairness, candor and liberality, retorting no abuse, but preserving an unfailing courtesy even under the severest provocation. His manner is earnest, his arguments close and logical and he reaches his conclusions by a process that seems to render those conclusions inevitable. Whether you agree with him or not you cannot listen to him without being satisfied of his sincerity, and that his object is not victory but truth.

In private life Mr. Lincoln is a strictly moral and temperate man, of frank and engaging manners, of kind and genial nature, unaffectedly modest, social in disposition, ready in conversation, and passing easily from grave to gay and from gay to grave, according to the humor of the hour or the requirements of the occasion, a firm friend and yet not implacable to an enemy, a consistent politician, a good citizen and an honest patriot.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIOGRAPHIES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Compiled by William E. Barton

PREFACE

The growth of Lincoln Bibliography is happy and indisputable evidence of the growing fame of America's greatest American. This process appears certain to continue; and those who have undertaken to compile complete lists of publications primarily relating to Lincoln have a present task of no small magnitude and one that is not likely to diminish. But it has come to be well nigh impossible to see the trees for the wood. Lincoln biographies, which must be reckoned the most important of books relating to Lincoln, form a small fraction of the books that are properly included in a Lincoln bibliography. It will be a convenience to select from the long list of Lincoln books the relatively small number that deal with his life directly and not with particular aspects of his career.

This bibliography differs in several respects from the ordinary Lincoln bibliography.

In the first place, it is strictly a bibliography of biographies. It does not include sermons, addresses, or studies of Lincoln in particular aspects, even though those works include more or less biographical material. It does not include magazine articles unless they were separately published. Its sphere is biography.

In the second place, the books are listed not in alphabetical order, but in their historic sequence. This list attempts to show just what biographical literature concerning Lincoln was produced in or available during any particular year from the beginning of such writing to the present.

In the third place, an attempt is made to group these books into convenient periods of unequal length, and to indicate the general nature of the biographies that made each period significant. Of course any such grouping can never pretend to complete success. Not all the books

of any period are to be described by any one term. The "Seven Ages of Lincoln Biography" which I have set forth are not to be taken inflexibly. For instance, the first period, that of Campaign Biographies, includes the first juvenile life of Lincoln; and that juvenile book can not very well be included in the title although it should find, and does find, its proper place in the chronological list.

Finally, I have chosen to comment now and then on books which for one reason or another seem to me to deserve a sentence or two of description.

The initial list of books of which this is the outgrowth was selected by me from a much larger list selected by the Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Society, Miss Georgia L. Osborne, and her assistants.

As I became more deeply involved in the work it seemed well to use the cards of the Library of Congress, and to add the bibliographical numbers of Fish. This method will, I trust, facilitate such further reference as students making use of this bibliography may desire.

I am indebted to J. B. Oakleaf of Moline, Illinois; Miss Esther C. Cushman of the Brown University Library; D. H. Newhall of New York, and last but not least Morris H. Briggs of Chicago, for important assistance and encouragement.

W. E. B.

I. THE CAMPAIGN LINCOLN. 1860-1864.

The distinguishing mark of the books of this period is the prompt effort to supply to a public that did not know Lincoln very well in 1860, biographical sketches prepared primarily for campaign purposes. A similar purpose characterized the Lincoln biographies of 1864. Such other biographies as appeared in this period are incidental. In 1860 I have endeavored to follow exact chronological sequence.

The Germ of the Wide-awake Edition.

The life and public services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860. 128 pp. 12 mo. Fish No. 514.

This I judge to have been by a very narrow margin the earliest life of Lincoln actually on the market. It was one of several books to be announced as "in press" on Saturday, May 19, 1860, the day following Lincoln's nomination, and was certainly the first of them to register for copyright, the registry being effected May 28, and thus preceding the one which Vose registered on May 30, and the Wigwam Edition which registered May 31. It was announced as "now ready" on Monday, May 28.

On June 14, the publishers announced that they had sold 10,000 copies of "the Wide-awake edition." That statement must apply to this paper-bound book of 128 pages, though the first edition does not carry that name on its title page. The publishers, as well as several others, speedily enlarged their twenty-five cent paper-covered book into a cloth-bound volume of much thicker dimensions, selling for a dollar. In the Thayer and Eldridge book this enlargement began at page 129, and extended the volume to 308 pages by including speeches of Lincoln.

It was this enlarged volume that bore on its title page the legend "Wide-awake edition" and apparently the publishers made the title retroactive. The enlarged book is thus described:

WIDE-AWAKE EDITION.

The life and public services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. Boston, Thayer & Eldridge, 1860. Fish No. 1049.

VOSE, REUBEN.

The life and public speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, edited and published by Reuben Vose, No. 45 Maiden Lane, New York. Hilton, Gallaher & Company, Printers, 24 and 26 Ann Street, New York. 1860. 32 pp. (confused 118). 32 mo. Fish No. 1013.

This tiny booklet was the second on which, May 30, 1860, copyright application was filed. It was announced as ready for sale on Saturday, June 2, exactly two weeks and a day after Lincoln was nominated. Vose announced on that day that he had ready for sale at ten cents a copy, 10,000 copies of this first edition, and that on the following Tuesday or Wednesday, June 6 or 7, the "Irrepressible Edition" would be ready at twenty cents a copy.

I am not familiar with this little book, it being almost the only Life of Lincoln which I do not own; nor have I access to copies of the two editions for comparison. But I judge that the ten cent edition contained 32 pages, and that those pages included all the strictly biographical material. The appended matter, which swelled the book to 118 additional pages, said by Fish to be confused in pagination, contained the Republican platforms of 1856 and 1860; Lincoln's Cooper Union Address; his reply to Douglas in Chicago, July 10, 1858 and his Springfield addresses of June 10 and July 17, 1858.

THE WIGWAM EDITION.

The life, speeches, and public services of Abram[!] Lincoln, together with a sketch of the life of Hannibal Hamlin. Republican candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. New York, Rudd & Carleton, 1860. Fish No. 1052.

The writer of this little book is unknown. The publishers announced the book as "in press" on Saturday, May 19, 1860. It was registered for copyright May 31, 1860, third in order of registry, and copyright was completed by the filing of copy of the book June 8. That appears to have been the day when actual sale began. It is usually counted the earliest of the lives of Lincoln and it proclaimed itself as "the first in the field." However, other publishers, some of them manifestly subsequent to the "Wigwam" in completion, made the same claim. On June 20 the publishers announced that 20,000 copies had been sold. It was a book of undoubted value in the campaign. It is interesting to recall that a copy of this book, still preserved in the collection that now belongs to the Government, was the corner stone in the noted Oldroyd collection.

The writer appears to have had at hand no biographical material beyond that contained in the New York *Tribune* editorial of May 19, 1860. It follows that editorial in affirming that Thomas Lincoln died while the future President was still a small boy. The writer did not learn the true name of the man whose biography he wrote, but called him, on the title page and throughout the book, "Abram Lincoln."

Bartlett, David Vandewater Golden, 1828-1912.

The life and public services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln, by D. W. Bartlett. New York, H. Dayton, 1860. Fish No. 75.

Although the author, whose full name was David Vandewater Golden Bartlett, had prepared himself for the writing of the nominee of the Chicago Convention by assembling biographical material concerning all men whom he considered "presidential possibilities" and Lincoln was not among them, he was not wholly disconcerted by the results of the convention, but in the papers next morning permitted his publishers to announce that he had "in press" the life and speeches and public services of Abraham Lincoln. He worked quickly, and manifestly used the material which Lincoln prepared for Scripps, being the first of the biographers to issue a book containing that material. The preface of his first edition is dated June 1, 1860, and his book was advertised on June 9 as to be ready June 12. Copyright was registered June, 1860.

The two publishers named above and J. W. Bradley of Philadelphia became publishers of the first cloth bound life of Lincoln, a volume of 348 pages, of which pages 151-348 contain speeches of Lincoln. This book was dignified by a steel engraving, and is thus described:

Bartlett, David Vandewater Golden, 1828-1912.

The life and public services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln, with a portrait on steel. To which is added a biographical sketch of Hon. Hannibal Hamlin. By D. W. Bartlett. Philadelphia, J. W. Bradley, 1860. Fish No. 77.

Barrett, Joseph Hartwell, 1824-1910.

Life of Abraham Lincoln (of Illinois). With a condensed view of his most important speeches; also a sketch of the life of Hannibal Hamlin (of Maine). By J. H. Barrett. Cincinnati, Moore, Wilstach, Keys & Co., 1860. Fish No. 70.

This book, announced among the first, as the "rail" life of "Old Abe," contained portraits of the candidates "taken since the nomination expressly for this work," and the Lincoln portrait is really an excellent one. Application for copyright was filed June, 1860. The preface was dated Gazette Office, Cincinnati, June 18, 1860. Though calling itself the "authentic edition," it took pains not to claim to be exclusively authorized. The preface said:

"In thankfully acknowledging the readiness with which all reasonable facilities have been offered for obtaining authentic material to be used in the production of this work, the writer owes it to Mr. Lincoln

and Mr. Hamlin, as well as to their immediate friends, to say that he expressly disclaims any authority to speak in their name."

Mr. Barrett enlarged this book into an 1864 campaign biography of 316 pages. After the death of Lincoln he wrote a new and on the whole commendable life of Lincoln in 842 pages, 8 vo. This work was translated into German. In 1904 Mr. Barrett issued a work in two large volumes on the life of Lincoln, with special reference to his presidency. Lincoln appointed Barrett Commissioner of Pensions.

Another edition of the 1860 volume bears imprints of Asher & Co., Cincinnati.

Howard, James Quay, 1840-1908.

The life of Abraham Lincoln, with extracts from his speeches. By J. Q. Howard. Columbus, Follett, Foster & Company, 1860. Fish No. 431.

The Columbus firm that had published the volume of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, deserved and had Lincoln's gratitude, and doubtless was one that sincerely hoped for Lincoln's nomination, if for no other reason than that it would markedly affect, as it did, the sale of that production. They also determined to publish a life of Lincoln and engaged as the writer Mr. James Quay Howard, who had been born in Ohio in 1840, was a graduate of Marietta College, and was a scholar as well as a gentleman of much personal charm. Mr. Howard spent some days in Springfield and Lincoln furnished him the same material which he had prepared at the request of Scripps. Lincoln was much annoyed later to find that the publishers were announcing the Howard book as "authorized" by Lincoln. This claim drew from Lincoln a letter of disclaimer addressed to Hon. Samuel Galloway, June 19, 1860: "Do not mistake me; I feel great kindness for Messrs. F. F. & Co.; do not think they have intentionally done wrong," but "I authorize nothing—will be responsible for nothing." He would not himself read the proofs, but hoped some of his political friends would do so and "exclude anything that would embarrass the party."

The book did Lincoln no harm, and was really well done. Lincoln had received Howard courteously in Springfield and later made him U. S. Consul at St. John's, New Brunswick.

Mr. Howard told John E. Burton that his book was issued June 24, a few days ahead of Howells. He was mistaken in the date, for his preface was dated June 26. It was probably issued about July 1. The registry for copyright was dated June 30. The Howard biography is one of the most difficult to obtain and sells at very high prices when on rare occasions it is offered at auction.

Howells, William Dean, 1837-1920.

Lives and speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. New York, W. A. Townsend & Co.,; Columbus, Follett, Foster & Co., 1860.

Another edition, otherwise identical, bears the imprint of Follett, Foster & Co. of Columbus, who also issued the Howard biography, but may be presumed to have taken an edition of the Howells book as selling agents.

W. A. Townsend & Co. were of the first group of publishers to announce on Saturday, May 19, 1860, their intention to publish a life of "Old Abe" and of his running mate, Hannibal Hamlin. Neither the announcements nor the title pages gave the names of the authors, but the two biographies bore with their captions the names of William Dean Howells as author of the Life of Lincoln and John L. Hayes as author of the Life of Hamlin. In this campaign book Howells, who was then in newspaper work in Ohio, entered the lists as an author.

Application was made for copyright and the book was issued early in July. Howard was probably correct in saying that his own book was published a few days ahead of that of Howells.

John Lord Hayes, who wrote the sketch of Hannibal Hamlin, was born in 1812 and died in 1887.

SCRIPPS, JOHN LOCKE, 1818-1866.

Life of Abraham Lincoln. Chicago, Chicago Press and Tribune Company, 1860. Fish No. 842.

This pamphlet of 32 double-column pages in newspaper type was issued by the Chicago *Press and Tribune,* the New York *Tribune* and the Denver *Tribune* simultaneously and with identical content and pagination. It was sold at a very small price and had large influence in the campaign. It was announced in the New York *Tribune* of June 25 in these terms:

"*The Life of Abraham Lincoln,* by an Illinois Republican who knows well the man and his history, will be issued from the *Tribune* office about the 1st of July in a large, compact pamphlet of 32 double-column pages for general circulation as a campaign document. Price, 4 cents a copy, 40 cents a dozen, $3.50 a hundred, $20 a thousand."

The pamphlet was advertised as ready for distribution July 14. The literary work was all performed by John Locke Scripps, except the part dealing with the Lincoln-Douglas debates, which was written by Joseph Medill. Both men were editors of the *Press and Tribune* of Chicago.

John Locke Scripps was born in Illinois in 1818 and died at the age of 45. He was a graduate of McKendree College and a man of ability and high character. A valuable sketch of his life and work by his daughter, Mrs. Grace Locke Scripps Dyche, is in the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1924 and contains much of interest concerning the writing of this campaign biography.

Mrs. Dyche issued as a memorial to her father a beautiful reprint of his Life of Lincoln, called in good faith but inaccurately "The First Published Life of Lincoln." Its title page reads:

The First Published Life of Abraham Lincoln. Written in the year MDCCCLX by John Locke Scripps. Reprinted in MDCCCC by the Cranbrook Press. (Detroit: 1900; 86 pp., 8 vo.) (Fish No. 843.)

PORTRAITS AND SKETCHES.

Portraits and Sketches of the Lives of All the Candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency for 1860. Comprising eight portraits engraved on steel, facts in the life of each, the four platforms, the Cincinnati platform, and the Constitution of the

United States. New York: J. C. Buttre, 48 Franklin Street, 1860. (pp. 32 and wrapper, 8 vo.) Fish No. 756.

In this annotated Bibliography of Biographies of Lincoln I am omitting all lives of Lincoln which were mere chapters in books that contained lives of the presidents, or of other classes of men which included Abraham Lincoln, but I am making what may be an exception to the rule in naming this dignified pamphlet. In this I follow the example of Judge Fish, who also excluded composite works, but gave this book a place in his Lincoln Bibliography. The eight biographical sketches are of uniform length, two pages each, and each one of the sketches is prefaced by an excellent portrait, and with each pair of candidates is the platform of his party. It is a very creditable piece of work, and the fact that Lincoln's biography is placed first makes it all the more reasonably an item in Lincoln biography of the first campaign.

Campaign Lives of Lincoln in German.

James Quay Howard.

Das Leben von Abraham Lincoln, nebst Auszugen aus seinen Reden. Aus dem Englischen von J. Q. Howard, Uebersetzt druck Professor Wilhelm Grauert. Columbus: Follett, Foster and Compagnie. 1860. 57 pp. Fish No. 431a.

Fish says this is doubtless the first Lincoln biography printed in any foreign language.

Bartlett and Vose in German.

Leben, wirken und reden des republikanischen präsidentschafts,—candidaten Abraham Lincoln. Nach den besten amerikanischen quellen: D. W. Bartlett, Reuben Vose u. a. deutsch bearbeitet. New York. F. Gerhard, 1860. Fish No. 76.

Unique Life of Lincoln in German.

Das Leben von Abraham Lincoln nebst einer kurzen Stizze das Lebens von Hannibal Hamlin, Republikanische Candidaten für President und Vice-President der Vereinigten Staaten. Die Constitution der Ver. Staaten, Unabhängigkeits-Erklärung, und die Platformen der Verscheidenen Politischen Parteien. Chicago, Ill., Druck von Hossgen und Schneider, 1860. (pp. 108.)

(I do not find this little book in Fish or Oakleaf or in any collection but my own. I think it possible mine is the only known copy. Whether this pamphlet is earlier than that of Howard, which Fish thought "undoubtedly the earliest life of Lincoln in any foreign language" I have no means of knowing.—W.E.B.)

The Pioneer Boy and How He Became President. By William Makepeace Thayer. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1863. pp. 310 12 mo. Illustrated. Fish No. 941. Another edition, 1864, by same publishers and by Dinsmoor & Co., Boston.

The first juvenile life of Lincoln. It ran through many editions. In 1882 it was revised, enlarged and newly illustrated; the eulogy of George Bancroft was added and it was published in a volume of 469 pages by Henry Bill Publishing Company of Norwich, Conn. In 1865

it was translated into modern Greek and published in Athens; perhaps the first life of Lincoln to be issued in that language. In 1897 it was translated into German by Daniel Auguste and published in Gotha.

Barrett, Joseph Hartwell, 1824-1910.

Life of Abraham Lincoln, presenting his early history; political career, and speeches in and out of Congress; also a general view of his policy as president of the United States; with his messages, proclamations, letters, etc., and a concise history of the war. By Joseph H. Barrett. Cincinnati, Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, 1864. Fish No. 71.

This was a re-issue of the 1860 book by the same author, with matter appended, but with no important revision of the earlier portion of the book.

Raymond, Henry Jarvis, 1820-1869.

The life of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, by Henry J. Raymond; and the life of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. By John Savage. New York, Derby and Miller, 1864. Fish No. 788.

Another edition, same pages and date, with imprint of National Union Executive Committee.

John Savage, who wrote the life of Andrew Johnson, was born 1828 and died 1888.

Raymond, Henry Jarvis, 1820-1869.

History of Administration of Pres. Lincoln: including his speeches, letters, addresses, proclamations, messages, with a preliminary sketch of his life. By Henry J. Raymond. New York: J. C. Derby and N. C. Miller. 1864. 496 pp. Fish No. 790.

Abott, Abott A.

The life of Abraham Lincoln. By Abott A. Abott. New York. T. R. Dawley, 1864. Fish No. 2.

The name is doubtless a pseudonym. The same author in 1865 issued two successive editions of a pamphlet on the death of Lincoln.

Thayer, William M[akepeace].

The character and public services of Abraham Lincoln. By Wm. M. Thayer. Boston, Walker, Wise and Co., 1864. Fish No. 947.

This campaign booklet never attained the popularity of the author's book for boys.

Victor, Orville James, 1827-1910.

The private and public life of Abraham Lincoln; comprising a full account of his early years, and a succinct record of his career as statesman and president. By O. J. Victor. New York, Beadle and Company [1864]. Fish No. 1005.

This was re-issued after the death of Lincoln with a small amount of prefatory matter. The two later editions are numbered by Fish 1006 and 1007.

THAYER, WILLIAM M.

The character and public services of Abraham Lincoln. Boston, Dinsmoor and Co. 1864. 75 pp. Fish No. 942.

Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States; and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the U. S. With a full history of his life; his career as a Lawyer and Politician; his services in Congress; with a full account of his Speeches, Proclamations, Acts, and Services as President of the U. S. and Commander-in-chief of Army, Navy, of the U. S., up to present time. Philadelphia: Peterson and Brothers. 1864. pp. 187. Fish No. 515.

This work, issued as a campaign biography in 1864, was extended by successive scrapbook additions to include the election, and later the inauguration of Lincoln, the surrender of Lee, the assassination of the President, the pursuit and trial and execution of the conspirators and other miscellaneous information. The earlier chapters remained unchanged and spoke of Lincoln as still living while the later ones told of his death.

The veteran book seller, P. K. Foley, of Boston, discovered some twenty years ago that the writer who produced this work for the Petersons was James Brainerd Williamson. The successive editions of his book may be said to have bridged the gulf between the campaign biographies of 1864 and the books which in 1865 undertook something like an original study of the life of Lincoln from the beginning till his death.

II. LINCOLN, THE LIBERATOR AND MARTYR. 1865-1871.

Mention has been made of the unpreparedness of writers to undertake Lives of Lincoln when his nomination for the Presidency, Friday, May 18, 1860, made him suddenly a candidate for biographical honors. Equally unprepared were writers at the moment of his assassination. On Good Friday, April 14, 1865, probably no one on earth was intending to write a Life of Lincoln, unless it was his late partner, William H. Herndon, and whatever plan he had was vague and remote. The campaign biographies of 1864 added nothing of critical value to those of 1860.

The biographies prepared within a few years after Lincoln's death were written in the midst of the deep emotion that followed his murder. The time for critical biography had not arrived. Lincoln was too near to be seen or judged in perspective. Writers who had known him, or who obtained their data from people who had known him, hastened to prepare books which emphasized his work as the liberator of slaves and as the martyr whose death was the nation's supreme sacrifice offered on the altar of liberty and union.

ABOTT, ABOTT A.

The life of Abraham Lincoln. By Abott A. Abott. New York, T. R. Dawley, 1864 [i. e. 1865]. Fish No. 2.

[WILLIAMSON, DAVID BRAINERD, 1827].

The life, and martyrdom of Abraham Lincoln. Sixteenth president of the United States; and commander-in-chief of the army and

navy of the United States. Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson & Brothers [1865].

[Williamson, David Brainerd, 1827].

Illustrated life, services, martyrdom, and funeral of Abraham Lincoln. With a portrait of President Lincoln, and other illustrative engravings of the scene of the assassination, etc. Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson & Brothers [1865].

[Basset?].

A sketch of the life and times of Abraham Lincoln. Philadelphia, Bradley & Company. 1865. 96 pp. Fish No. 860. Author said to be Miss Basset, of New Briton, Conn.

[Mumford, Mrs. Mary Eno (Bassett)], 1842.

A sketch of the life and times of Abraham Lincoln. (To accompany a portrait.) Philadelphia, Bradley & Company. [1865.]

Victor, Orville James, 1827-1910.

The private and public life of Abraham Lincoln; comprising a full account of his early years, and a succinct record of his career as statesman and president. By O. J. Victor. New York, Beadle & Company [1865?].

Barrett, Joseph Hartwell, 1824-1910.

Life of Abraham Lincoln, presenting his early history, political career, and speeches in and out of Congress; also a general view of his policy as president of the United States; with his messages, proclamations, letters, etc., and a concise history of the war. By Joseph H. Barrett. Cincinnati, Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, 1865. Fish No. 72.

Preface dated May 14, 1864.

A hurried reissue of the 1864 book with new matter.

Barrett, Joseph Hartwell, 1824-1910.

Life of Abraham Lincoln, presenting his early history, political career, and speeches in and out of Congress; also, a general view of his policy as president of the United States; with his messages, proclamations, letters, etc., and a history of his eventful administration, and of the scenes attendant upon his tragic and lamented demise. By Joseph H. Barrett. Cincinnati, New York, Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, 1865. Fish No. 72.

Virtually a new book, with the earliest portions written in 1860 and 1864 revised.

Brockett, L. P.

The life and times of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth president of the United States. Including his speeches, messages, inaugurals, proclamations, etc. By L. P. Brockett. 1865. 750 pp., illus. Chicago: Bradley & Company. Fish No. 135.

Crosby, Franklin.

Life of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth president of the United States. Containing his early history and political career; together with the speeches, messages, proclamations and other official documents illustrative of his eventful administration. By Frank Crosby. Philadelphia, J. E. Potter, 1865. Fish No. 234.

Hanaford, Mrs. Phebe Ann (Coffin), 1829-1921.

Abraham Lincoln: his life and public services. By Mrs. P. A. Hanaford. Boston, B. B. Russell & Company, 1865. Fish No. 384.

This was the first life of Lincoln written by a woman.

Colfax.

Life and principles of Abraham Lincoln. By Hon. Schuyler Colfax. Printed 1865. Reprinted 1868. Philadelphia: Jas. B. Rodgers. Fish No. 213.

Bacon, George Washington, *comp.*

The life and administration of Abraham Lincoln. Presenting his early history, political career, speeches, messages, proclamations, letters, etc., with a general view of his policy as president of the United States. Also the European press on his death. Comp. by G. W. Bacon. London, S. Low, son, and Marston [etc.] 1865. Fish No. 50.

Life of Abraham Lincoln, late president of the American republic. Reprinted from the "Morning Star," Manchester, A. Heywood & Son; [etc., etc., 1865]. Fish No. 517.

Arnaud, Achille, 1826.

Abraham Lincoln; sa naissance, sa vie, sa mort avec un récit de la guerre d'Amérique daprès les documents les plus authentiques, par Achille Arnaud. Paris, Charlieu frères et Huillery, 1865. Fish No. 33.

Pascal, Cesar, 1839.

Abraham Lincoln; sa vie, son caractère, son administration, par César Pascal. Paris, Grassart, 1865.

Hanaford, Mrs. Phebe Ann (Coffin), 1829-1921.

Abraham Lincoln. Sein leben und seine öffentlichen dienste. Nach dem englischen von P. A. Hanaford frei bearb. von Julius Würzberger. New York, Haasis & Lubrecht; Boston, B. B. Russell & Co.; [etc., etc., 1865]. Fish No. 385.

Bacon, George Washington.

Abraham Lincoln geschetst in zijn leven en daden. Naar het Engelsch, van G. W. Bacon. Amsterdam, J. Leendertz, 1865. Fish No. 51.

Holland, Josiah Gilbert, 1819-1881.

Das leben Abraham Lincoln's; von J. G. Holland. Springfield, Mass., G. Bill, 1866. Fish No. 427.

THAYER, WILLIAM M.

O apoikos pais etoi existoresis ton polieion tes Amerikes. Abraham Ligkolnos me eikonographias, Ek ton Agglikon upo G. Konstanlinon En Athenais Tupois Lakonias. 1865. 298 pp. (Fish No. 944.) Translation of "The Pioneer Boy." Title transliterated from Greek characters.

BUNGENER, LAURENCE LOUIS FELIX, 1814-1874.

Abraham Lincoln. Sein leben, wirken und sterben, von F. Bungener. Autorisirte uebersetzung. Bern, C. H. Mann, 1866. Fish No. 154.

BUNGENER, LAURENCE LOUIS FELIX, 1814-1874.

Lincoln; sa vie, son œuvre, et sa mort, par F. Bungener. Lausanne, G. Bridel, 1865. Fish No. 153.

BUNGENER, LAURENCE LOUIS FELIX, 1814-1874.

Abraham Lincoln, com' ei visse, qual' opera compie qual fu la sua morte. Firenze Tipografia Claudiana via Mattia 33. 1866. 12 mo. pp. 88. Translated by B. Malan from the French of Bungener. See No. 153. Fish No. 19.

ITALIAN VERSION OF THE PRECEDING WORK.

Abraham Lincoln, der Sklavenbefreier u. Freiheitsmartyrer, gew. Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten Nord-Amerika's. Mit dem wohlgetroffenen Portrait Lincoln's. (Biel: L. Heer-Betrix. 1865.) 12 mo. pp. 16. Fish No. 9.

LESPERUT.

Abraham Lincoln par A. Lesperut, Paris E. Dentu, Libraire. Editeur. Palais. Royal. 1865. 16 pp. Fish No. 506.

HOLLAND, JOSIAH GILBERT, 1819-1881.

Life of Abraham Lincoln, by J. G. Holland. Springfield, Mass., G. Bill, 1866. Fish No. 426.

Distinctly the best of the 1865-1866 group of Lincoln biographies.

HOLLAND, JOSIAH GILBERT, 1819-1881.

Das Leben Abraham Lincoln's von J. G. Holland, Mitglied der historischen Gesellschaft von Massachusetts, Springfield, Mass. Verlag von Gurdon Bill. 1866. 588 pp. Fish No. 427.

ARNOLD, ISAAC N.

The history of Abraham Lincoln and the overthrow of slavery. By Isaac N. Arnold, late member of Congress from Illinois. Chicago, Clarke & Co., 1866. 736 pp. 8 vo. Fish No. 35.

WILLIAMSON, DAVID BRAINERD, 1827.

Illustrated life, services, martyrdom and funeral of Abraham Lincoln. With a full account of the imposing ceremonies at the national capital on February 12, 1866, and the Hon. George

Bancroft's oration, delivered on the occasion before both Houses of Congress. With a portrait of Abraham Lincoln and other illustrative engravings of the scene of the assassination, etc. Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1866. Fish No. 445.

BARRETT, JOSEPH HARTWELL, 1824-1910.

Das leben und wirken Abraham Lincoln's, des sechzehnten präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten. Nebst einer darstellung der kriegsereignisse, die während seiner administration stattfanden. Von Joseph H. Barrett. Aus dem englischen frei übersetzt und mit zusätzen, erläuterungen und einer vorrede versehen von Johann L. C. Eggers. Cincinnati, Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, 1866. Fish No. 73.

BUNGENER, LAURENCE LOUIS FELIX, 1814-1874.

Lincoln Zijn leven, werk, en dood. Naar het Fransch van F. Bungener. Utrecht, J. J. H. Kemmer, 1866. Fish No. 155.

MACKENNA.

A short biography of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the U. S., written in Chili, with the purpose of exhibiting the feelings of the Chilean nation towards the U. S. in the hour of her most critical trials, by B. Vicuna MacKenna. New York: S. Hallett. 1866. 25 pp. Fish No. 626.

KADMUS.

De Histori of Magnus Maharba and de Blak Dragon. Bai Kristofer Kadmus. Let evivu Letur hav its on Sound, and let evivu Sound hav its on Letur.—Old Maksim. New York. Printed for de Filolojikal Gemana. 1866. 122 pp. Author said to be the Rev. Nathan Brown. Fish No. 477.

RETCLIFFE.

Abraham Lincoln. Historischer Roman von J. Retcliffe. Erster Band. Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist Vorbehalten. Dresden. Verlag von Brunno Wienecke. 1866. 2 vol. Fish No. 804.

TOWNSEND, GEORGE ALFRED, 1841-1914.

The real life of Abraham Lincoln. A talk with Mr. Herndon, his late law partner. By George Alfred Townsend. New York, Publication office, Bible House, 1867. Fish No. 961.

Originally appeared in the New York *Tribune,* February 15, 1867. It was the first use made in publication of any part of the Herndon material.

GRAY, WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, 1830-1901.

Life of Abraham Lincoln. For the young man and the Sabbath School. By William C. Gray. Cincinnati, Western Tract and Book Society, 1867. Fish No. 357.

The author of this Bibliography holds this little book in special regard. It was the first life of Lincoln he ever read.

MUDGE, ZACHARIAH ATWELL, 1813-1888.

The forest boy: a sketch of the life of Abraham Lincoln. For young people. By Z. A. Mudge. New York, Carleton & Porter, 1867. Fish No. 669.

Another early and popular juvenile.

CANISIUS (DR.) THEODOR.

Abraham Lincoln. Historisches charakterbild. Von. Dr. Theodor Canisius. 1867. 253 pp. Wien, Christoph Reitzer. Fish No. 172.

Dr. Theodor Canisius of Springfield edited the German newspaper which Lincoln bought to further his political fortunes. Three editions of this life of Lincoln in German were issued in Europe.

HOFFMANN, WILHELM.

Abraham Lincoln, der befreier der negersklaven; eine erzählung für die jugend, von Wilhelm Hoffmann. Mit vier stahlstichen. Breslau, E. Trewendt, 1867. Fish No. 423.

PORTRAITS AND BIOGRAPHIES

Of the leading military and naval officers of the United States, including those of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson. Cincinnati: Wrightson & Co., 1867.

Unknown to Fish.

MORNING STAR PAMPHLET.

Life of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the American Republic. [Reprinted from the *Morning Star.*] Manchester (England): A. Heywood & Son. London: G. Vickers. 1865. 16 pp. 8 vo. Fish No. 517.

ANDREWS.

Ke Keiki Paioma: or Pioneer Boy. I Lilo I Peresidena No Amerika Huipuia; I Unulinia A I Kakaina E. Samuel C. Andrews, Lahainaluna. Nu Yoka: Paiia E. William B. Bodge. 1869. 12 mo. pp. 306. Portrait and plates. In the Hawaiian dialect. Copyright, April 4, 1868, by G. P. Judd of Honolulu. Fish No. 31.

CORCHADO, MANUEL.

Abraham Lincoln; por Manuel Corchado. Barcelona, Impr. de los hijos de Domenech, 1868.

ARNOLD, ISAAC NEWTON, 1815-1884.

Sketch of the life of Abraham Lincoln. Compiled in most part from the History of Abraham Lincoln and the overthrow of slavery. By Isaac N. Arnold. New York: J. B. Bachelder, 1869. Fish No. 36.

COCHIN, AUGUSTIN, *i. e.* PIERRE SUZANNE AUGUSTIN, 1823-1872.

Abraham Lincoln, par Augustin Cochin. Paris, Degorce-Cadot, 1869. Fish No. 206.

III. THE REALISTIC LINCOLN. 1872-1889.

The lives of Lincoln that were issued soon after his death rarely mentioned him as a great man. They were concerned with his kindness, patience, his fondness for jokes, his mercy, and with the mass of legendary lore that sprang and continues to spring up. It was high time for a critical biography. William H. Herndon had gathered valuable biographical material, but not having found himself able to work it into a book, sold copies of his manuscripts to Col. Ward Hill Lamon, who employed Chauncey F. Black to write the book. It was cynical and unfriendly, and this attitude must be ascribed to Black, rather than Lamon. The work was a financial failure, and a second volume which had been planned was not published. This book began a new epoch in Lincoln biography—an epoch that reached its culmination seventeen years later when Herndon issued a book of his own. These volumes were the beginning of critical, and so of constructive, biography of Lincoln.

Lamon, Ward Hill, 1828-1893, and Black, Chauncey, F., died 1904.
The life of Abraham Lincoln; from his birth to his inauguration as President. By Ward H. Lamon. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Company, 1872. Fish No. 498.

Hart, Charles Henry, 1847-
A biographical sketch of His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States. By Charles Henry Hart. Reprinted from introduction to Bibliographia Lincolniana. Albany, J. Munsell, 1870. Fish No. 394.

Power, John Carroll, 1819-1894.
Abraham Lincoln. His life, public services, death and great funeral cortege, with a history and description of the national Lincoln monument, by John Carroll Power. Monumental ed. Springfield, Ill., E. A. Wilson & Company, 1875. Fish No. 763.

Hicks, George, 1835-
Abraham Lincoln. Kingston, Jamaica, printed by the Educational Supply Company [1879?].

[Hicks, George], 1835-
Abraham Lincoln. Kingston, Jamaica, W. I., printed by the Educational Supply Company, [1879] Tarrytown, N. Y., reprinted, W. Abbatt, 1917.

Grube, August Wilhelm.
Abraham Lincoln. Eine biographische Skizze von A. W. Grube. 2 verm. aufl. Stuttgart, J. F. Steinkopf. 1878. 132 pp. Fish No. 367.

Thayer, William Makepeace, 1820-1898.
From pioneer home to the White House. Life of Abraham Lincoln. By William M. Thayer. With eulogy by Hon. George Bancroft.

Enl., rev., and newly illustrated. Norwich, Conn., The Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1882. Fish No. 945.

An enlarged reprint of this popular juvenile, as a subscription book.

NICOLAY, JOHN GEORGE, 1832-1901.

Abraham Lincoln. By John G. Nicolay. Boston, Little, Brown, & Company, 1882.

This may be thought of as the germ of the large Nicolay and Hay work. A few copies of this article were printed in pamphlet form to secure copyright in the United States.

POWER, JOHN CARROLL, 1819-1894.

Abraham Lincoln. His life, public services, death and great fueral cortege, with a history and description of the National Lincoln monument, with an appendix. By John Carroll Power. 3d ed. Springfield, Ill., H. W. Rokker, printer, 1882.

[SMITH, GEORGE BARNETT,] 1841-1909.

Abraham Lincoln: farmer's boy and president. Published under the direction of the Committee of general literature and education appointed by the Society for promoting Christian knowledge. London, Society for promoting Christian knowledge; New York, E. & J. B. Young & Company, [188-?].

HANAFORD, MRS. PHEBE ANN (COFFIN), 1829-1921.

Abraham Lincoln: his life and public services. By Phebe A. Hanaford. Boston, D. Lothrop & Company, [1881].

RASMUSSEN, H[ANS].

Abraham Lincolns liv og gjerning. Med Lincolns portræt. Kjobenhavn, V. Thanning & Appels boghandel, 1882.

ALGER, HORATIO, JR.

The backwoods boy, or the boyhood and manhood of Abraham Lincoln. 1883. 307 pp. New York: Street & Smith, New York.

MALTBY, CHARLES.

The life and public services of Abraham Lincoln, by Charles Maltby, late superintendent of Indian affairs for California. Stockton, Cal., Daily Independent Steam Power Print, 1884. Fish No. 629.

A rare little book, and a rather attractive one, the more interesting because the first life of Lincoln to be written on the Pacific coast.

ARNOLD, ISAAC NEWTON, 1815-1884.

The life of Abraham Lincoln. By Isaac N. Arnold. Chicago, Jansen, McClurg, & Company, 1885. Fish No. 41.

Mr. Arnold's book was too cautious and conservative to be a truly great work. It really belonged in the post-war group. It had developed in the conscientious method of Mr. Arnold and it wholly satisfied many of the friends of Lincoln and of Mrs. Lincoln.

Stoddard, William Osborn, 1835-

Abraham Lincoln: the true story of a great life. Showing the inner growth, special training, and peculiar fitness of the man for his work. By William O. Stoddard. New York, Boston, [etc.] Fords, Howard, & Hulbert, 1884. Fish No. 899.

Mr. Stoddard, an assistant secretary to President Lincoln, gave in this volume some valuable information, obtained by him at first hand.

Browne, Francis Fisher, 1843-1913, *comp.*

The every-day life of Abraham Lincoln; a biography from an entirely new standpoint, with fresh and invaluable material. Lincoln's life and character portrayed by those who knew him. Estimates and impressions of distinguished men. Prepared and arranged by Francis F. Browne. New York and St. Louis, N. D. Thompson Publishing Company, 1886. Fish No. 145.

In good part a compilation, but interestingly done and of value.

Stoddard, William O.

Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. New York, Stokes. 1888. 284 pp. Fish No. 900.

Brooks, Noah, 1830-1903.

Abraham Lincoln; a biography for young people, by Noah Brooks. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888. Fish No. 139.

Mr. Brooks knew Lincoln personally and his book was readable and good.

Irelan, John Robert.

History of the life, administration and times of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth president of the United States. By John Robert Irelan, M. D. In two volumes. Chicago, Fairbanks and Palmer Pub. Company. 1888. Fish No. 453.

This is a portion of a huge work on the presidents, of no great value, but is sought and given reluctant shelfroom by collectors who want all biographies of Lincoln.

Power, John Carroll.

Abraham Lincoln; his life, public services, death and great funeral cortege, with a history and description of the national monument, Springfield, Ill. R. H. Rokker, Pub. 1889. 458 pp. illus. Fish No. 765.

This work continued to be issued in editions with some changes, by the custodian of the Lincoln monument.

Peterson, O. M.

Abraham Lincoln og hans samtid. Af O. M. Peterson. Chicago, Skandinavens boghandel, 1889. Fish No. 746.

HERNDON, WILLIAM HENRY, 1818-1891, AND WEIK, JESSE W., 1857-

Herndon's Lincoln; the true story of a great life. The history and personal recollections of Abraham Lincoln, by William H. Herndon and Jesse William Weik. Chicago, New York, [etc.] Belford, Clarke & Company; [etc., etc., c1889.] Fish No. 409.

This truly notable, though much criticized, book brings to a close the period of Lincoln biography which began with Lamon's work in 1872.

IV. THE DOCUMENTARY LINCOLN. 1890-1900.

Perhaps this is as good a caption as any for the period of Lincoln biography which began when Nicolay and Hay published their "Abraham Lincoln, a History." This work released a vast body of documentary material which forms a dividing mark between periods of Lincoln biography.

NICOLAY, JOHN GEORGE, 1832-1901, AND HAY, JOHN, 1838-1905

Abraham Lincoln; a history, by John G. Nicolay and John Hay. New York, The Century Co., 1890.

There is an English edition, also from the same plates. Fish No. 701.

The limitations of this work are known and lamented by all Lincoln students, who, on that account, the more deplore the action of Robert T. Lincoln in locking up for a long period the Lincoln manuscripts. But even so, this work is an invaluable storehouse of authentic Lincoln material, prized and utilized by all Lincoln students.

[LAMBERTON, JOHN PORTER,] 1839-

Abraham Lincoln. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1890.

[LOVETT, RICHARD,] 1851-1904.

Abraham Lincoln. [London, The Religious Tract Society, 1890.]

HERNDON, WILLIAM HENRY, 1818-1891, AND WEIK, JESSE W., 1857-

Abraham Lincoln; the true story of a great life, by William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, with an introduction by Horace White. New York, D. Appleton & Company, 1893. Fish No. 410.

A new edition of Herndon's much criticized book, with a few omissions and a chapter on the Lincoln-Douglas Debates by Horace White. In 1928 this was re-issued in a handy volume series at a small price.

FRENCH, CHARLES WALLACE, 1858-

Abraham Lincoln, the liberator: a biographical sketch. By Charles Wallace French. New York [etc.]. Funk & Wagnalls, 1891. Fish No. 334.

SCHURZ, CARL, 1829-1906.

Abraham Lincoln, an essay, by Carl Schurz. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1891. Fish No. 839.

PUTNAM, M LOUISE.

The children's life of Abraham Lincoln, by M. Louise Putnam. Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Company, 1892.

MORSE, JOHN TORREY, 1840-

Abraham Lincoln, by John T. Morse, Jr. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1893.

A cold and academic work, with some strange errors, but on the whole a good book. It appeared in subsequent years in large paper and other editions.

COFFIN, CHARLES CARLETON, 1823-1896.

Abraham Lincoln, by Charles Carleton Coffin. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1893. Fish No. 209.

BROOKS, NOAH.

Abraham Lincoln and the downfall of American slavery. By Noah Brooks. 1894. 471 pp. Illus. New York and London. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Fish No. 140.

HANAFORD, MRS. PHEBE ANN (COFFIN), 1829-1921.

Abraham Lincoln; his life and public services, by Phebe A. Hanaford. Chicago, New York, The Werner Company [1895].

LAMON, WARD HILL.

Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865. By Ward Hill Lamon. Edited by Dorothy Lamon. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1895. xvi, 276 pp. Portraits. Facsimilies. 12 mo. Fish No. 499.

A second edition with an important introductory essay was issued by Dorothy Lamon, then Mme. Teillard, in 1911.

Volumes of Reminiscences are not listed in this Bibliography; but an exception is properly made for Lamon's Book, as it contained some of the material intended to have been used in the never-published second volume of his Life of Lincoln, of which the first volume was published in 1872.

NICHOLS, CLIFTON MELVIN, 1830-1903.

Life of Abraham Lincoln; being a biography of his life from his birth to his assassination; also a record of his ancestors, and a collection of anecdotes attributed to Lincoln. By Clifton M. Nichols. New York City, Springfield, O. [etc.] Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1896. Fish No. 698.

BROOKS, ELBRIDGE STREETER, 1846-1902.

The true story of Abraham Lincoln, the American, told for boys and girls by Elbridge S. Brooks. Boston, Lothrop Publishing Company [1896]. Fish No. 138.

BALDWIN, JAMES.

The story of Abraham Lincoln for young readers. 1896. 64 pp. Chicago: Werner School Book Co. Fish No. 56.

TARBELL, IDA MINERVA, 1857- , AND DAVIS, JOHN MCCAN, 1866-

The early life of Abraham Lincoln, containing many unpublished documents and unpublished reminiscences of Lincoln's early friends. By Ida M. Tarbell, assisted by J. McCan Davis. New York, S. S. McClure, 1896. Fish No. 932.

This interesting volume, taken from the pages of McClure's Magazine contained the best account up to that time of the youth of Lincoln. It was the result of much research, and the harbinger of Miss Tarbell's larger and complete biography.

OTTO, EMIL.

Abraham Lincoln. Ein lebensbild gezeichnet von E. Otto. St. Louis, Mo., Eden Pub. House [1897]. Fish No. 723.

THAYER, WILLIAM MAKEPEACE, 1820-1898.

Abraham Lincolns leben, von William M. Thayer. Autorisierte übersetzung aus dem englischen von Auguste Daniel. 2. aufl. Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1897.

SHEPPARD, ROBERT DICKINSON.

Abraham Lincoln; a character sketch. With supplementary essay, by G. Mercer Adam. Also, suggestions from the life of Lincoln, by Francis W. Shepardson. The early days of Abraham Lincoln, by Prof. Goldwin Smith. Anecdotes, characteristics and chronology. H. G. Campbell Pub. Co. 1898. 180 pp. Fish No. 855.

HAPGOOD, NORMAN, 1868-

Abraham Lincoln, the man of the people, by Norman Hapgood. New York, The Macmillan Company; London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1899. Fish No. 388.

[MARSH, LEVI GARDNER] 1823-1906.

Story of Abraham Lincoln. Buffalo, N. Y., Chicago, Ill., The Wyatt Company [1899].

V. THE POPULAR LINCOLN. 1890-1915.

Valuable as were the contributions of Lamon and Herndon, and of Nicolay and Hay, they did not satisfy popular demand. A more picturesque Lincoln, who could take his place in the popular imagination, was needed and provided.

TARBELL, IDA MINERVA, 1857-

The life of Abraham Lincoln, drawn from original sources and containing many speeches, letters, and telegrams hitherto unpublished, by Ida M. Tarbell. New York, The Doubleday & McClure Co., 1900. Fish No. 933.

With Miss Tarbell's attractive and well illustrated work, a new epoch in Lincoln biography began. Innumerable books followed it, but hers preserved its pre-eminence and may be said to have defined the period which it began. It was a "key note" biography. It has been republished in many editions.

Stoddard, William Osborn, 1835-1925.

Lincoln at work; sketches from life by William O. Stoddard; illustrated by Sears Gallagher. Boston and Chicago, United Society of Christian Endeavor [c1900]. Fish No. 904.

Cravens, Frances.

The story of Lincoln for children. By Frances Cravens. 1900, 1903. 117 pp. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Pub. Co. Fish No. 232.

Gridley, Eleanor.

The story of Abraham Lincoln, or the journey from the log cabin to the White House. 1900. 334 pp. illus. Chicago: Juvenile Publishing Company. Fish No. 364.

Scripps, John Locke, 1818-1866.

The first published life of Abraham Lincoln, written in the year MDCCCLX, by John Locke Scripps; reprinted in the year MDCCCC, by the Cranbrook Press. Detroit, Mich., The Cranbrook Press, 1900. Fish No. 843.

Mrs. Dyche was entirely honest in representing her father's pamphlet as "the first published life of Abraham Lincoln." It was, as is shown earlier in this bibliography, the eighth. But it was first in importance among the original group.

Nicolay, John George, 1832-1901.

A short life of Abraham Lincoln, condensed from Nicolay and Hay's Abraham Lincoln: a history by John G. Nicolay. New York, The Century Co., 1902. Fish No. 700.

Ketcham, Henry.

The life of Abraham Lincoln, by Henry Ketcham. New York, A. L. Burt, 1901. Fish No. 486.

Another edition was issued in 1904 by J. A. Hill & Co., New York.

Brooks, Noah, 1830-1903.

Abraham Lincoln; his youth and early manhood, with a brief account of his later life, by Noah Brooks. New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901. Fish No. 142.

Phillips, Isaac Newton.

Abraham Lincoln. A short study of a great man and his work. By Isaac N. Phillips. 2d ed. Bloomington, Ill., 1901. Fish No. 748.

Browne, Robert Henry, 1835-

Abraham Lincoln and the men of his time, by Robert H. Browne. Cincinnati, Jennings & Pye; New York, Eaton & Mains, 1901. Fish No. 146.

Koren.

Abraham Lincoln. Et foredrag for studenterne red Luther College paa Lincolns fodelsday den 12te februar. Al V. Koren. Decorah, Iowa. Lutheran Pub. House. 1901. 32 pp. Fish No. 490.

Brooks, Elbridge Streeter, 1846-1902.

The heroic life of Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator. Illustrated in black and white and with colored plates. Boston, DeWolfe Fiske & Co., [c1902].

Smith, Samuel G.

Abraham Lincoln. Jennings & Pye, New York. 1902. 31 pp. Fish No. 868.

Selby, Paul.

Lincoln's life, stories and speeches. Letters and speeches chronologically arranged. Chicago, Thomson & Thomas. 1902. 469 pp. illus.

Curtis, William Eleroy, 1850-1911.

The true Abraham Lincoln, by William Eleroy Curtis. With twenty-four illustrations. Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1903. Fish No. 240.

Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson, 1868-

Abraham Lincoln, by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. Philadelphia, G. W. Jacobs & Company. 1904. Fish No. 707.

Baldwin, James, 1841-

Abraham Lincoln, a true life, by James Baldwin. New York, Cincinnati [etc.], American Book Company. 1904. Fish No. 57.

Barrett, Joseph Hartwell, 1824-1910.

Abraham Lincoln and his presidency, by Joseph H. Barrett. Cincinnati, The Robert Clarke Company. 1904.

Mr. Barrett, one of the earliest group of Lincoln biographers, continued his work for forty-four consecutive years, beginning with a hastily prepared volume in 1860, and approaching by successive stages this culminating work, published when he was 80 years of age. In continuity of service his record distanced that of all other authors of Lincoln biographies. Fish No. 74.

Lincoln, Abraham, President United States, 1809-1865.

The autobiography of Abraham Lincoln. New York, F. D. Tandy Company. [c1905].

Stoddard, William Osborn, 1835-1925.

The boy Lincoln, by William O. Stoddard. New York, D. Appleton & Company. 1905. Fish No. 905.

HEATH, VIRGINIA.

The story of Lincoln, by Virginia Heath. Portland, Me., L. H. Nelson Company. 1905. Fish No. 405.

ROTHSCHILD, ALONZO.

Lincoln, Master of Men. A study in character by Alonzo Rothschild. Boston and New York, Houghton & Mifflin. Cambridge. 1906. 531 pp. Fish No. 820.

While this is avowedly a character study, it is entitled to a place among the biographies of Lincoln and is a book of merit.

NICOLAY, HELEN, 1866-

The boys' life of Abraham Lincoln, by Helen Nicolay. With illustrations by Jay Hambidge and others. New York, The Century Co. 1906.

REITER, HARRIET G.

The story of Lincoln, by Harriet G. Reiter. Dansville, New York, World's Events Publishing Company. [c]1906.

PUTNAM, HARRIET.

The life of Abraham Lincoln for young folks, told in words of one syllable, by Harriet Putnam. New York, McLoughlin Brothers. [[c]1906].

SPARHAWK, FRANCES CAMPBELL, 1847-

A life of Lincoln for boys, by Frances Campbell Sparhawk. New York, T. Y. Crowell & Co. [[c]1907].

WHIPPLE, WAYNE.

The story-life of Lincoln; a biography composed of five hundred true stories told by Abraham Lincoln and his friends, selected from all authentic sources, and fitted together in order, forming his complete life history, by Wayne Whipple. Memorial edition, issued to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's birth; illus. Philadelphia, J. C. Winston Company, 1908. 708 pp.

WHITNEY, HENRY CLAY, 1831-1905.

Life of Lincoln, by Henry C. Whitney, edited by Marion Mills Miller. New York, The Baker & Taylor Company, 1908.

SCHURZ, CARL, 1829-1906, AND BARTLETT, TRUMAN HOWE, 1835-1925.

Abraham Lincoln, a biographical essay, by Carl Schurz; with an essay on the portraits of Lincoln by Truman H. Bartlett. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907.

BINNS, HENRY BRYAN, 1873-

Abraham Lincoln, by Henry Bryan Binns. London, J. M. Dent & Company; New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, 1907.

The best English life of Lincoln before Charnwood, and in some respects equal to it.

Beale, J. E., Jr.

Abraham Lincoln. A brief biography noting especially the influences of his early years, as manifested in the splendid fruitage of his latter life. Accounts of his more important acts as president. The assassination, etc., 1909. 48 pp. Philadelphia: Strawbridge & Clothier.

Whipple, Wayne.

The little life of Lincoln. Philadelphia, Biddle Press, 1909. unp. illus.

Whitlock, Brand, 1869.

Abraham Lincoln, by Brand Whitlock. Boston, Small, Maynard & Company, 1909.

Morgan, James, 1861.

Abraham Lincoln, the boy and the man, by James Morgan. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908.

Moores, Charles Washington, 1862-1923.

The life of Abraham Lincoln for boys and girls, by Charles W. Moores. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909.

[Mott, Edward Harold,] 1845.

Lincoln. A brief biographical sketch of Lincoln, fitting appreciations of his character, and a compilation of selections from his state papers, addresses and letters, prepared under the direction of Lincoln centenary committee of the city of New York appointed by His Honor, George Brinton McClellan, mayor, 1908. [New York, M. B. Brown Company, printers, c1909.]

Abraham Lincoln: the story of his life printed for the children of New England and their parents, 100 years after his birth, by the Boston Sunday Globe. [Boston, Boston Sunday Globe, 1909].

Snider, Denton Jaques, 1841-

Abraham Lincoln, an interpretation in biography, by Denton J. Snider. St. Louis, Mo., Sigma Publishing Company, [c1908].

Atkinson, Mrs. Eleanor (Stackhouse), 1863-

The boyhood of Lincoln, by Eleanor Atkinson. New York, The McClure Company, 1908.

Campbell, Helen Mary Le Roy, 1850-

The life of Abraham Lincoln, by Helen M. Campbell. Boston, New York, [etc.] Educational Publishing Company [1909].

Jennings, Janet.

Abraham Lincoln, the greatest American, by Janet Jennings. [Madison, Wis., Cantwell Printing Company, c1909].

SHEPPARD, ROBERT DICKINSON, 1846-

The life of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth president of the United States, 1861-1865, by Robert Dickinson Sheppard. Famous Gettysburg and Springfield addresses, pathetic letter to the mother of five sons slain in battle; sayings, characteristics and chronology. Chicago, Laird & Lee, c1913.

SCHURZ, CARL, 1829-1906.

Abraham Lincoln, von Carl Schurz. Aus dem englischen übersetzt von Mary Nolte. Mit einem bildnis. Berlin, G. Reimer, 1908.

BEETS, HENRY.

Abraham Lincoln, zijn tijd en leven, door Henry Beets. Grand Rapids, Mich., J. B. Hulst, [etc.] 1909.

[KOHT, HALVDAN,] 1873-

Abraham Lincoln, Et hundredaarsminde. [Kristiania, 1909].

MILLER, FRANCIS TREVELYAN, 1877-

Portrait life of Lincoln; life of Abraham Lincoln, the greatest American, told from original photographs taken with his authority during the great crisis through which he led his country—treasured among the 7,000 secret service war negatives in the Brady-Gardner collection at Springfield, Massachusetts, and in private collections, valued at $150,000, collected by Edward Bailey Eaton, by Francis Trevelyan Miller. Springfield, Mass., New York, [etc.] The Patriot Publishing Company, 1910.

NEWTON, JOSEPH FORT.

Abraham Lincoln; an essay, by Joseph Fort Newton. Cedar Rapids, Ia., The Torch Press, 1910.

NEWTON, JOSEPH FORT, 1876-

Lincoln and Herndon, by Joseph Fort Newton. Cedar Rapids, Ia., The Torch Press, 1910.

[ANDERSON, ALBERT].

A critical and biographical sketch of Lincoln. Minneapolis, Minn. [1910].

ROSS, RILEY R.

Abraham Lincoln, by Riley R. Ross. New York City, 1910.

REITER, HARRIET G.

Story of Lincoln, by Harriet G. Reiter. Dayton, O., Paine Publishing Company, [c1910].

PHILLIPS, ISAAC NEWTON.

Lincoln, by Isaac Newton Phillips. Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910.

PICKENS, WILLIAM.

Abraham Lincoln, man and statesman (abridged) by Wm. Pickens. [Talladega? Ala.] c1910.

NORTON, ELIOT.

Abraham, a lover of mankind. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. 1911. 95 pp. port.

STRUNSKY, ROSE.

Abraham Lincoln, by Rose Strunsky, with five illustrations and a map. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1914.

AGRESTI, ANTONIO, 1866-

Abramo Lincoln. Genova, A. F. Formiggini, 1913.

BROWNE, FRANCIS FISHER, 1843-1913.

The everyday life of Abraham Lincoln; a narrative and descriptive biography with pen pictures and personal recollections by those who knew him, by Francis Fisher Browne. New and thoroughly revised edition from new plates, with an entirely new portrait of Lincoln, from a charcoal study by J. N. Marble. Chicago, Browne & Howell Company. 1913.

A revised edition of a work first published in 1886. Another edition was issued by Putnam in 1915.

WHIPPLE, WAYNE, 1856.

The story of young Abraham Lincoln, by Wayne Whipple. Philadelphia, Henry Altemus Company. c1915.

RUTHERFORD.

Abraham Lincoln. Plough boy, Statesman, Patriot, by William G. Rutherford. London. (No year.) The Sunday School Union, 57 and 59 Ludgate Hill, E. C. 139 pp. Fish No. 825.

MATSUMURA

Lincoln. By Rev. K. Matsumura. (No place, no year.) In Japanese. A biography for youth. Titles taken from seventh edition. 183 pp. Fish No. 643.

PUTNAM, HARRIET.

The life of Abraham Lincoln for young folks. New York, McLaughlin Bros. 144 pp. illus.

AITKEN, W. FRANCIS.

The boy's life of Greatheart Lincoln, the martyr President. By W. Francis Aitken. n.d. 320 pp. Pub. by Partridge & Co., London.

BIOGRAPHY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

In Japanese. No imprint, no year. 272 pp. Fish No. 96.

CROSBY, FRANK.

Life of Abraham Lincoln. By Frank Crosby. Taken from "A Library of Universal Literature," in four parts, of which this is part two (biography). n.d. illus. Pub. by P. F. Collier & Son, New York. No date.

GOLDSMITH, M. A.

Abraham Lincoln: his life. A true story of one of the world's best men. 121 pp. illus.

HAMILTON, MARY A.

The story of Abraham Lincoln. 120 pp. illus. n.d. Pub. by T. C. & E. C. Jack.

HOFFMAN, WILHELM.

Abraham Lincoln, der Befreier der Negersklaven. Eine Erzählung für die Yugend von Wilhelm Hoffman mit Vier Stahlstichen. Breslau. Verlag von Edouard Trewendt. (No year.) 129 pp. Fish No. 423.

HOFFMAN, WILHELM.

Abraham Lincoln. Emancipator of slaves; story for children. W. Hoffman. Translated from the German edition of the bookseller and publisher. M. O. Wolf. St. Petersburg, Moscow. (No year.) 106 pp. In Russian, the above being an English rendition of the Russian characters. Fish No. 424.

KAKITA.

Abraham Lincoln. By J. Kakita. (No place, no year.) 142 pp. A juvenile biography in Japanese characters. Fish No. 479.

KAMENSKAVO.

The life of celebrated men. Biographical library. F. Pavlenkova. A. Lincoln. His life and public achievements. Biographical sketch. A. B. Kamenskavo. St. Petersburg, Press of Society for "Public Weal," Bolschaie Podiachevskaia. 1891. 85 pp. Title transliterated from Russian characters. Fish No. 480.

MANOEL.

As equias de Abrahao Lincoln, President des Estados-Unidos da America Com Um Esboco Biographico de Mesmo Offercido Ao Povo Brasileiro Por Sem Patricio Jose Manoel de Conceiaco Rio Janeiro Publicada e a Venda Em Casa de Eduarde & Henrique Laemert. (No year.) 40 pp. Fish No. 630.

MARAIS, AUG.

Marais Abraham Lincoln. Histoire d'm Homme du Peuple illustri par A. Mantader (device) Charavay, Mantoux, Martin Libraire d' Education de la Jeunes, Paris. (No year.) 128 pp. Fish No. 632a. Similar card. 155 pp. Fish No. 633.

VI. THE INTERNATIONAL LINCOLN. 1916-1920.

This title may serve to characterize the new epoch which, during the World War, brought into clearer definition the personality of Lincoln as an international ideal, particularly in the Charnwood biography and the Drinkwater play.

WHITLOCK, BRAND, 1869-
Abraham Lincoln, by Brand Whitlock. Boston, Small, Maynard & Company, 1916.

ELIAS, MRS. EDITH L.
Abraham Lincoln, by Edith L. Elias, with nine illustrations. London, G. G. Harrap & Company, 1916.

WHEELER, DANIEL EDWIN, 1880-
Abraham Lincoln, by Daniel E. Wheeler. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916.

CHARNWOOD, GODFREY RATHBONE BENSON, 1st Baron, 1864-
Abraham Lincoln, by Lord Charnwood. London, Constable & Company, Ltd., 1916.

The second English edition was issued in the following year, and coincided with the first Canadian edition (Toronto, McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1917) and the New York edition, Henry Holt & Co., 1917.

Charnwood's book made a deep impression not only in England but in America.

GORDY, WILBUR FISK, 1854-
Abraham Lincoln, by Wilbur F. Gordy. New York, Boston [etc.] C. Scribner's Sons [c1917].

ROTHSCHILD, ALONZO.
"Honest Abe." A study in integrity, based on the early life of Abraham Lincoln, by Alonzo Rothschild. Boston and New York, Houghton-Mifflin Co. 1917. 374 pp.

COURTENAY, CALISTA MCCABE.
Abraham Lincoln. 1917. 96 pp. Illus. New York. Sam'l Gabriel Sons Co., New York.

SHIRLEY, RALPH.
A short life of Abraham Lincoln, by the Hon. Ralph Shirley. Illustrated American ed. New York, Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1919.

SHARP, JOHN ALFRED, 1856-
Abraham Lincoln, by Alfred Sharp. London, The Epworth Press, [1919].

GOLDSMITH, MARCUS A.
Abraham Lincoln; his life, by M. A. Goldsmith; a true story of one of the world's best men. Cleveland, O., The Goldsmith Publishing Co. [c1918].

Schurz, Carl, 1829-1906.

Abraham Lincoln, by Carl Schurz. The Gettysburg speech and other papers by Abraham Lincoln. Together with testimonies by Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell, and a biographical sketch of Carl Schurz. Boston, New York [etc.] Houghton-Mifflin Company [c1919].

Abraham Lincoln. By an Oxford M. A. Portsmouth, [Eng.] Holbrook & Son, ltd. [1920?]

Elias, Mrs. Edith L.

Abraham Lincoln, by Edith L. Elias; with nine illustrations. New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company [c1920].

Stephenson, Nathaniel Wright, 1867-

Lincoln; an account of his personal life, especially of its springs of action as revealed and deepened by the ordeal of war, by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, [c1922]. Enlarged Edition, 528 pp. 1924.

Tarbell, Ida Minerva, 1857-

Boy Scouts' life of Lincoln, by Ida M. Tarbell. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1921.

McSpadden, Joseph Walker, 1874-

The story of Abraham Lincoln, by J. Walker McSpadden. New York, N. Y., Newark, N. J., Barse & Hopkins [c1922].

Bowers, John Hugh, 1875-

Life of Abraham Lincoln [by] John Hugh Bowers. Girard, Kan., Haldeman-Julius Company, [c1922].

Mathews, Stella Tyler.

The life of Abraham Lincoln, in verse, by Stella Tyler Mathews. Seattle, Press of Lowman & Hanford Company. [c1923].

Bissett, Clark Prescott.

Abraham Lincoln, a universal man, by Clark Prescott Bissett. San Francisco, J. Howell. 1923. 230 pp.

Whipple, Wayne.

The heart of Lincoln; an intimate life-story of Abraham Lincoln. 1923. 101 pp. The Great-Heart Series. Published by John C. Winston Company, Chicago.

VII. THE LINCOLN OF THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

Since the close of the World War, a group of American biographers has emerged, whose works may be held to inaugurate a new period of Lincoln biography. It is too early to designate this school with a name; but it endeavors to combine original research with constructive labor.

Barton, William Eleazar, 1861-

The life of Abraham Lincoln, by William E. Barton. Indianapolis, The Bobbs Merrill Company [c1925].

Dr. Barton's first Lincoln book, "The Soul of Abraham Lincoln," was practically a biography, as it studied the whole life of Lincoln in its relation to his successive environments and his spiritual development. That, and two other books, "The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln" and "Abraham Lincoln and his books" were stepping stones toward this biography, which has been followed by other Lincoln books, entitled, "The Women Lincoln Loved," "Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman," "A Beautiful Blunder: the true story of Abraham Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixby," and "The Lineage of Lincoln."

Wright, Mrs. Anna Maria Rose, 1890-

The dramatic life of Abraham Lincoln, by A. M. R. Wright; illustrated with scenes from the photoplay, a First National Picture, presented by Al. and Ray Rockett. New York, Grosset & Dunlap, [c1925].

Camacho Roldan, Salvador, 1827-1900.

Abraham Lincoln, by Salvador Camacho Roldan. Translated from La Opinion, Bogota, Colombia, June 7, 1865. [Tarrytown, N. Y., reprinted, W. Abbatt, 1925].

Vaughn, Olive.

The life of Abraham Lincoln, as told in pictures, by Olive Vaughn. Johnston, Pa., The Statler Press [c1925].

Britt, Albert.

Abraham Lincoln, for boys and girls, by Albert Britt. New York, Frank-Maurice, Inc. 1925. 244 pp.

Sandburg, Carl.

Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years, by Carl Sandburg, with 105 illus., from photographs, and many cartoons, sketches, maps, and letters. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Company. (c 1926.) 2 vol.

Although the author is a poet, and wrote what is in some sort a prose-poem rather than a conventional biography, this work is attractive, readable and of value.

Hoffman, Urias John.

Abraham Lincoln, the greatest of good men, the best of great men, for boys and girls, by U. J. Hoffman. Boston, New York. (etc.) D. C. Heath & Co. (c 1926.) 129 pp.

Warren, Louis Austin.

Lincoln's parentage and childhood: a history of the Kentucky Lincolns supported by documentary evidence, by Louis Austin Warren. New York, London, The Century Company. (c 1926.).

Barton, William Eleazar.

The Great Good Man. How the boy Lincoln grew to manhood and achieved immortality. By William E. Barton. illus. by Raymond H. Warren. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1927. 313 pp.

Hart, Franklin W.

Abraham Lincoln, the great commoner, the sublime emancipator, by Col. F. W. Hart. Pasadena, Calif., Press of Pasadena Star-News. c1927. 274 pp.

Beveridge, Albert Jeremiah, 1862-1927.

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858, by Albert J. Beveridge. Boston and New York, Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1928.

To the lasting regret of Lincoln scholars, Senator Beveridge did not live to complete this notable work. It considers the life of Lincoln down to the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and stops abruptly.

Madison, Mrs. Lucy (Foster), 1865-

Lincoln, by Lucy Foster Madison. Illustrated and decorated by Frank E. Schoonover. Philadelphia, The Penn Publishing Company, 1928.

Sandburg, Carl.

Abe Lincoln Grows Up, by Carl Sandburg. New York, Harcourt Co. 222 pp. illus. c1928. Reprinted from (the author's "Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years").

Hill, Frederick Trevor.

Lincoln, emancipator of the nation; a narrative history of Lincoln's boyhood and manhood, based on his own writings, original research, official documents, and authoritative information, by Frederick T. Hill. New York and London, D. Appleton & Co. 1928. 284 pp.

HISTORICAL VALUES IN THE MID-CENTURY LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE WEST

By Arthur H. Hirsch
Professor of American History on the James S. Britton Foundation, Ohio Wesleyan University

To those who follow the traveled roads of American literature and historical tendencies it has become clear that a new meaning for the word literature has developed in recent years. Where stress formerly lay on such things as excellence of diction, structure, form, polish, and balance, emphasis now lies as well on the genuineness of interpretation, fidelity to form, and exactness of the spirit of the setting. It has become clear that much of the literature of the West, now recognized as having importance as a memorial of the frontier, is the mediocre work of earnest men and women, whose principal usefulness lay in living the everyday life, with its anxieties and burdens, its hopes and triumphs, and telling in the simple, unrhetorical language of the frontier the story of the experiences through which they passed. To the literary critic it may have little or no value, but not infrequently is the student of history able to penetrate to the very core of a period, or institution, through the contemporary writings of persons who observed and recorded their impressions in story form or description. Even satire, despite its conscious exaggeration, may have historical value. Accordingly, the word literature has come to mean a body of writings, the raw stuff of literature, such as published journals, biographies, travel narratives, and even that portion of fiction which endeavors to portray the conditions of a time or place. In the field of history these may have a value altogether aside from technique, literary beauty, or artistry. With these considerations in mind, the task of this address is to examine some of the historical values in the American literature of the mid-century period, embracing roughly the middle half-century, from about 1825 to 1875. To endeavor to evaluate critically the literature of this extraordinarily virile period, to appraise its romance values in the light of reality, to take away, so to speak, the outer wrappings and expose to view the inner worth, is not an easy task. The formal biographies are too often replete with eulogy, when criticism should abound. Our forefathers wrote like courtiers, unfortunately holding that a gentleman should speak only well of the dead. There are too often no blemishes on the corpses, and, in the lives of the dead, one finds not infrequently no shadow of reproach. Consequently scarcely a single biography of the time is to be trusted, except that one can safely conclude that all the good he finds in men reflects as well the evils that live after them. Nevertheless one finds exact and complete descriptions, elaborate reviews of conditions and institutions, truthful por-

trayals of life and experience. The literature of the Middle West is like the Middle West itself, coarse and crude, even dowdy at first. When at length the amenities appear they, too, are reflected in the literature, as well as in the phenomena of the West.

Slowly, but gradually, with the pushing of the frontier line farther into the wilderness the scope of material for literary interpretation was enlarged. Sea life and tropic islands give way to parklike glades or inland forests as themes to beguile traveler and writer. To trace even the romantic element through these enthralling decades would be out of the question in this brief address. It must be sufficient to indicate a few of the manifestations such as these:

For a quarter century there were tiny indicators, revealing the way the current was tending, telltale hints that fascinate in the midst of their otherwise barren setting. When the West began, in due course, to appear in literature, it was the Ohio Valley, which was then being invaded by the throngs of newcomers, that naturally became the beneficiary of this new interest. The literature now portrays with equal clearness the "rude miscellany of settlers who entrusted their families and goods and cattle to great rafts" and the blackguards who thronged the rivers and preyed upon the adventurers. Here are travelers and observers who wrote their impressions of the country and the people. There were explorers, adventurers, missionaries, scientists, foreign travelers, and also alert observers among the pioneers themselves. The impressions of the vastness and wildness of the country and the uniqueness of the people are recorded in numberless instances. Here are the tales of rivalry and anxiety, of jealousy and ambitious scheming, but also the realistic descriptions of prairie and wilderness, of savage, of pioneer and of landscape. There is marked contrast, of course, between the vagaries of fiction on the one hand, and the accurate and thorough accounts of Indian life and the experiences of the pioneer. There is often a noticeable interest on the part of the writers in observations of scientific interest. Even to botanist and geologist the new country was a land of promise offering a variety of attractions. The findings of these scientists are not without their value to the historian. More numerous were the foreigners who came to observe the political, social and economic aspects of frontier life on this continent. Some, drawn by idle curiosity or cumbered only by natural prejudice, left unmistakable evidences in their accounts of the disappointments which they experienced. Some of these tell an absorbing story of a decade of effort to penetrate the mysteries of the mighty Mississippi, or the meaning of the shifting peoples who dwelt along its shores. Here are tales more thrilling than fiction.

Remote as we are today from those scenes and times the interest never seems to slacken in these relations which draw a line of more or less certain history along the region of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. The frontier arts and crafts are made to live again. There are intimate descriptions of sugar making, of house building, gardening, and the sports and games. Here is a definite consciousness of the external world. Men and women strive against the elements of nature, against the river and the mountain. Here the forest is conquered, the

river tamed, the hill surmounted. The Indian must be either won, or subdued, the French persuaded, or conquered. Optimism and individualism, which are the center of frontier idealism, are traits which the West engenders. There courage was an indispensable quality, physical endurance and mental alertness as necessary as life to guarantee the survival of the primitive struggle for existence. Unless it be in the original narratives themselves, in journals and letters, and the oft-told tales of the pioneer, where are better told and better preserved the experiences of the Mid-West frontier than in the contemporary literature of those decades? If the student of history can forget for the time being all that the literary critics have said about Cooper's "fainting females" and his ideal Indians, sometimes disgustingly drunk, and actually read the stories as Cooper produced them, read until the trader and the trapper, the Indian and the frontier live again in his mind, he will realize as he matches the fiction of Cooper's pages with the reality of the Mid-West, as recorded in letters and memoirs, that here is in reality a great American epic. In laying aside for the moment the standards of classical literature, which cannot be applied in such cases, one remembers that Cooper's major purpose was evidently to create an atmosphere against which to place his persons and on which to construct his plot. In both the atmosphere and the plot there is importance, but for our purposes the atmosphere has the greater significance. Here the same environment that provided standing room for Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark bred also the Mike Finks and the Davy Crockets, and it engulfed in its depths a horde of nameless creatures, who lived sordid lives, spawned their offspring, and spread a mediocrity of social depravity that left yellow trails behind. Such people when dead were forgotten forever. Here in the social mixture the gray, the drab, the yellow mingle freely with the fairer elements, with the result that not infrequently the heroic and radiant figures are streaked with gray and yellow, and the personalities display the traits that spring therefrom. With Daniel Boone the dominant trait was a rugged, unassuming honesty, not infrequently adulterated by profuse falsehood and a chronic craving for more space in which to wander. So strong was this indeed that his fairmindedness did not prevent him, during his long hunts, from leaving his wife to wrestle alone in her birth-pains with only the haphazard help that might by sheer accident be accorded her by travelers going that way. With George Rogers Clark it was military ambition, which, when thwarted, poisons his nature with corrosive bitterness. In David Crocket raged the torment of ungratified ambitions. His unvarnished egotism and mean resentments betray the provincialism bred in him by frontier isolation. In Jedediah Smith we find the serious minded piety of the Puritan pioneer, shorn of Puritanical morbidity, intolerance and superstition. In him will always live a recrudescence of a religious motive which made conquest of the wilderness distinctly an adventure in spiritual pioneering.

The boldness of the Western character may have been as chivalrous as Dr. Grund claims it was, and the contest of the wilderness, as Professor Rusk brings out, could easily have been "the Trojan War of the Americans," but the conquest of the Western wilderness was on the

whole really a prosaic experience, exceedingly destructive of the human material used in the operation. The price was great, even for that period, but sobering is also the reflection that it prevented for generations a generous devotion to the ideals of culture and the amenities. The achievement of this people was not at all of the stirring spiritual kind. Possibly, after all, as Michael Chevalier said, they have fulfilled as perfectly as human nature is capable of doing the mission which Destiny entrusted to them—that of acting as a nation of pioneers and subduers of the forest.

There is no debate on the question whether such men as William D. Gallagher, James Hall, and Timothy Flint realized any large measure of artistic skill in the literature they attempted to create. There remains however the unsettled question, whether they and others, who are comparatively obscure authors now, did not succeed in creating an invaluable body of literature for the record it contains of the development of a wilderness society and the organization of institutions during a period unique in American History. Nor should we forget that a few self-conscious writers of the frontier, striving ineffectively for certain artistic achievement, had their eyes fixed on literary excellence, rather than on fidelity and reality of description, whereas the few that acquired a style of real merit and charm, were as a rule those who were incapable of portraying the real West.

Timothy Flint and James Hall, are generally regarded as the chief spokesmen of the Middle West. Hall was lured by its promise of romance, and all but achieved enduring value in his picture of pioneer life. Both men represented fairly the eastern culture. Flint put a remarkable fund of first-hand information and a mass of intimate observations of his wide experience into his books, revealing his personal interest in the new country. James Hall identified himself through long residence in Illinois and Ohio with the scenery, boat songs, the wide variety of river craft used by immigrants, with the geography, people and manners, highly entertaining and informing. He produced material similar to that found in the gazetteers and guides, which at the time composed a large part of the literature of frontier travel.

And yet, the romantic element in the literature of the Middle West, is not its greatest or most intense. This section was too quickly inhabited, too near the eastern tidewater, to remain long in the folds of mystery and uncertainty. Its paths soon became highways, robbed of the mystery of the unknown, and were revealed in the full noon day of realism. Here lies no small basis for the rapid transformation which took place and the meagreness of the lowly lives that cling close to the soil and which yield that pitiless realism which characterizes the literature of the area and the period under review. When the travel was over, the labor of clearing and the hard work of cleaving the tough woods of the forest caused hardship and disease, which, enhanced by privation, loneliness and maladjustments, brought many a pioneer to his Gethsemane. In the current literature of the frontier are embalmed forever the proofs of this discouragement, heartache, melancholy fear, and despair. But there too are preserved imperishable the hearty good cheer, joy of accomplishment and conquest, and the radiant hope

of the pioneer, who, leaving all he loved behind, found in his new inheritance the golden fulfillment of his fondest hopes.

To the unenlightened and especially to the traveler from foreign lands sojourning in the American West, this was the most uncouth and the most crude of all places in the world. The British particularly were not inclined to be friendly in their descriptions. The bitterness engendered by two wars was reflected in the flood of travel literature in which the West as well as the East was held up to ridicule. What was left unfinished in the War of 1812 itself was completed in the mass of books that poured forth. To the cynic, America was unfit for any kind of emigrant, and the venom of British bitterness left an inheritance of scurvy maledictions and unlovely allusions to the coarse life and vile unchastity of the Mississippi Valley. But even in the lying propaganda of this sort there is preserved for the historian no small amount of valuable information, for it is simply part of the general tendency toward falsehood concerning the West. Here is however, as Dundore brings out, an excellent counterpiece to the rainbow bubbles of the romancer, for in the books of British travelers are preserved the evidences of the national feeling which continued until after 1840 and which is one of the most striking characteristics of their books. H. B. Fearon, who wrote much about the middle west, was among the first to exaggerate the inconveniences of life and to meanly discourage his countrymen from coming here. No opportunity of ridicule was allowed to pass. The most famous and most spurned was Mrs. Trollope, who after a sojourn of two years in Cincinnati, published her *Domestic Manners of the Americans,* (1832). Its historical value lies mainly in the fact that it was an ill-humored and unkind, though justified rebuke of the people who had befriended her, and though known to have been exaggerated, was taken too seriously by the people it described. In the very protestations against it lie historic values, for therein the Americans learned some of their own shortcomings and in the baiting of the now famous authoress, American writers found an agreeable pastime. But the rebuttal of English statements became a leading national activity, in which writers of all sections engaged. In this art none perhaps was more offensive than F. W. Shelton, whose doggerel satire was popularly known as "The Trollopiad," (1837).

Even Dickens found the prospect in America most gloomy. Disillusioned of his dreams of thriving cities and palatial fairy landscapes he encountered huddled stumps, enormous ditches in which ran liquid mud. The prairies aroused in him feelings of lonely disappointment. And yet, except for the preservation intact, of such descriptions as he has given us in *The Prairie,* and Dr. Timothy Dwight's picture of the pioneer's discouragement, the historian would have no adequate or true picture of mid-western conditions. The despairing lack of education is not infrequently described with scathing portrayal. The disgusting slovenliness of the unkempt slatterns, with leathery, weathered skin, uncombed and dirty hair and their long loose unclean dresses; the ill-managed farms, the lack of privacy, general uncleanness and vulgar inconvenience at the inns; the shrewish temper and the laziness of servants; the coarseness and uncouth manners of men and their unlovely

conversations and prying inclinations, all receive oft repeated and merited consideration. The historian may regard such conditions the preface to better times farther ahead, but posterity would hardly have learned of them had it not been for the description contained in the published literature of the area.

Levasseur, who accompanied La Fayette on his visit to the Middle West, in 1825, was a keen observer of the old decadent French communities. His account is enlivened with a variety of incidents including a shipwreck on the Ohio River and is one of the most readable of the travel books of the times. Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America,* (1836), has long been known as one of the fairest analyses of American institutions, while Michael Chevalier's *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States,* (1839), is always remembered in sharp contrast to the work of Mrs. Trollope.

Such swift expansion as was here experienced, together with such sharp reactions of temper inevitably provide themselves with philosophies in which to clothe their new aspirations. In these it is that historical value lies surely embedded. For the student who knows the intimacies of German migration to America in the middle of the century there is summed up with poignant reality in Ferdinand Kürnberger's *Amerika-Müde* (1855) the whole of the German immigration. Amidst wasteful desolation the traveler finds a hut. There are copies of English and German classics covered with dust. On a bed lies a fever-parched woman, the daughter of a Marburg professor, in her delirium crying for water. The husband moves through the experiences of emotional disappointment over his own literary unproductiveness, the strange wrongs of frontier injustice, which exclude him from his own home, and the heartbreaking insanity of his wife brought on by border camp-meeting emotionalism. If one bars the sarcastic thrusts of the volume, he can find in its pages many elements of truth and strength. It is not hard to believe that Frederick Gerstacker's *Nach Amerika* is superior to Kürnberger both in correct information and in technique. It is probably the best piece of German fiction bearing on the German movements to Mid-America. Here is found a careful study of the land of promise, the emigrant agent and commercialism, the overdrawn descriptions by which immigrants were persuaded, and the "slow poisons" which were "injected in many a contented and peaceful family." Agents, commissions, seaport conditions, a Jewish accordion player, shipboard amusements, food, games, and songs are all clearly set forth. There is a review of the evils attending the great influx of poverty-ridden Europeans. Even today it serves as a reflection, in literature, of the pioneer West.

The first woman to consistently and comprehensively portray in fiction the discordant and discouraging aspects of the mid-century frontier was Katharine Mathilda Kirkland. The pages of her volume, *A New Home,* illuminate our understanding of a woman's dreaded breaking of the old ties, her yearning in secret for the friends left behind and the heartbreak of rearing a family far from privilege and refinement. Hers were the long months of aching loneliness, hers the sleepless caution against Indian and wild beast; the hopeless, seemingly

endless night vigils in sickness and poverty. Today we find in such evidences as these the basis for the heroic figures who rose from these experiences, and the origin of those superb bodies ever pregnant with new vitality and resourcefulness, that come to view in the decades just following. Mrs. Kirkland shows how the mud holes and corduroy roads of the Mid-West early compelled her to see reality, as did also ironing and baking in a small room, over an open stove on a sultry summer day. In that very room toads and snakes crawled up through the cracks, and clouds of insects made life by day and night a torment. Despite the varied criticism that her literary opponents registered against her, even in the later books, as, *Forest Life* and *Western Clearings* (1845), Mrs. Kirkland portrayed life as she saw it. And though the literary critic finds in what she says not so much to praise, the historian turns eagerly to her pages for authentic description of forest and frontier village, of the home, and the manners of the pioneer. Though not spectacular in their exposé of maladjustments, her portrayals are nevertheless convincing. Here are the slovenly waste in housekeeping, the carefree outlook on evil, and the contempt for ideals. Skilled or unskilled as may be her literary technique, the drab details of frontier country life are pictured without let or hindrance.

The work of Edward Eggleston is much better known. Therein we find a potential protest to the misleading conception of the border country and an effort to resist the encroaching tendency toward cheap biographies and misleading sensational fiction. In fact, he even expresses the intention "of making his stories of value . . . to the history of civilization." To them the historian may turn with no little confidence in his hope to find correct depiction of frontier characters and life. The Millerite prophecies that set the world astir in the forties are heard in his *End of the World.* The *Mysteries* of *Metropolisville* (1873) exposes the trickery and deception common in a typical landboom town. Educational primitiveness is described in *The Hoosier School Boy* and *The Hoosier School Master*, while *The Circuit Rider* leaves unquestioned evidences of the suppressed awe and crude heroism identified with the frontier clergyman of a century ago. Where are portrayed with truer realism the revival fervor and heart searching convictions, the self abnegation of frontier religious emotionalism, manifested in the "jerks" and other contortions of primitive revivalism? The historian is familiar with the fact that Eggleston depicts clearly the persecutions of an honest man like Gotlieb Wehle. True it is, that even if in the idiosyncrasies of the frontier types are found a literary soil "as rich, deep, and uncultured as the Mississippi bottoms," there was inadvertently deposited an increment of historical interest and substance which bears no small value to posterity. Eggleston's very passion for truth makes his tales teem with historical merit. The citizens of Indianapolis might shout themselves hoarse in protest over his alleged exaggerations, but in his chapters one can revel in the flowering bushes of Ohio and Indiana, the rolling prairies of Illinois, find solace for bereavement in the ideals of the *Circuit Riders,* and relief for solitude in the great flocks and studded hills of the "Beautiful River" area.

One of the most distinctive features of historical evolution of the Mid-West is found in the colloquial sketches of the humorists of the Ohio Valley. In three amazing volumes Thomas C. Haliburton, as early as 1852, described the *Traits of American Humor.* The stories of this evolution are gathered from the lazy camp-fire vigils, from the tales told by travelers and loungers at the military posts, or recess hours on court days, and matured in the oft-told tales of "swappings" of the long frontier evenings. They are exaggerated, racy, and bear the odor of the soil in their speech. Their humor lies in the facetious elaboration of the gawkiness and boastfulness of the rustics or their slapstick burlesque. In satire the oddities of one age are held up to ridicule by another. Polite society is made foolish and the grotesqueness of the primitive life is magnified. There are the wit combats of budding lawyers, lying deadbeats, and the idiosyncrasies of the border hero. The exposure is pitiless, but humorous. The "Prairie of Illanoy" is shown as a land where food is so cheap "you can live on half-nothin'." The facetious "Doesticks" gets his college preparation in Michigan, then wanders off to Kentucky, "the land of good horses, poor jackasses, glorious cornbread and lazy darkies."

There is not time to discuss the influence of William Gilmore Simms, whose visit to the Middle West bore much literary fruit. Here are unexaggerated, horrible, blood portrayals of western ruffianism and he shows how the dregs of civilization of the lower Mississippi regularly turned north and sated their passions in sensual villainy on the prairie frontier. Here are exposed with daring completeness the tricks of the scoundrels of the frontier, lying stories, shirt sleeve justice, oily piety, all of the claptrap of villainy, horrible fist fights, bloody combats, superstition, coarse conversation, real heroism, beautiful devotion. The dark mingles with the light and the variegated colors blend in the end into one shade. From veritable literary swamp miasmas and unlovely odors Simms rises to the sublime heights of character beauty, while the border martinet, strangely real, in stern justice condemns his own son to death.

Neither is there time to more than mention *The Dark and Bloody Ground,* which was the central theme of James Weir, Judge James Hall, and Robert Montgomery Bird. Mrs. Caroline Hentz could be passed over here entirely except that she represents the group of women moralists who wished to offset the too prevalent blood narrative by a more elevating content, and retard the effect of influential stories in which the brutal and unrefined elements predominated. This historic movement was rather important. Her attempt was to divert the attention of the reading youth to stories of thwarted love and the retribution of mercenary ambition. Mrs. Soule belongs to the same class and her writings abound in the melodrama of kidnapping villains, abandoned children, etc. Her women are inquisitive and garrulous, they tell uncouth stories, and yet they are the real calico and gingham women of the West. In the stories of Mary Holmes (1869) may be found with a marvelous degree of reality the blending of race elements, traditions and tendencies. There is an abundance of the "sob stuff" which was standard in that day, and it furnished the *motif* for the tear-shedding

of thousands. Here is seen the barrenness of the home, free as it was from material hardship, and the spiritual poverty of the matter-of-factness, against which Hamlin Garland in a later period so eloquently rebelled.

In the closing years under our consideration the frontier was sweeping on. Over the mid-continent areas a flood of homesteaders, augmented by disbanded soldiers, filled in the prairie spaces. Meanwhile, many familiar things had become commonplace, though they lingered on for years. In the tense period of war and reconstruction the middle West also thrust aside much that she had cherished as sacred. New Samsons were pulling down the old temples. New realities were enshrined on ancient altars. A new sense of individual liberty engulfed the nation. The dignified literary ideals of the older romantic America and the transcendentalism of the early century had become but bygone yesterdays and left no magic memories behind out of which to weave a new diadem of romance about the fallen hopes. A new age was on the threshold. But in it was the inheritance of the very middle class sovereignty which the mid-century literature had exalted, and from the crude and vast romanticism of that vigorous sovereignty emerged new philosophies to take the place of those which had gone down in the cataclysms of the War for Southern Independence. Literature found here absorbing themes, new scenes, and dignified ideals, a discussion of which must be reserved for another time and place.

JUDGE WILLIAM HENRY UNDERWOOD, SENATOR FROM ST. CLAIR COUNTY, 1856-1865 AND 1870

By Mrs. Clara Halbert Needles

In the Illinois Blue Book, 1927-1928, appears an article entitled, *"The Background of the Constitution of Illinois—the Convention of 1870,"* by A. L. Bowen. In the retrospect of the members of the Convention, enumerating the achievements of the delegates of exceptional importance, appears the following:

"William Henry Underwood—elected State's Attorney of St. Clair County in 1841 and 1843; chosen member of House of Representatives of Illinois, 1846; Judge of the Circuit Court, 1848-1854; State Senator, 1856-1858-1860-1862-1870."

In the State Constitutional Convention of 1870 Judge Underwood was a member of the following standing committees: Judiciary, Education, Revision and Adjustment, and Chairman of "Miscellaneous Subjects."

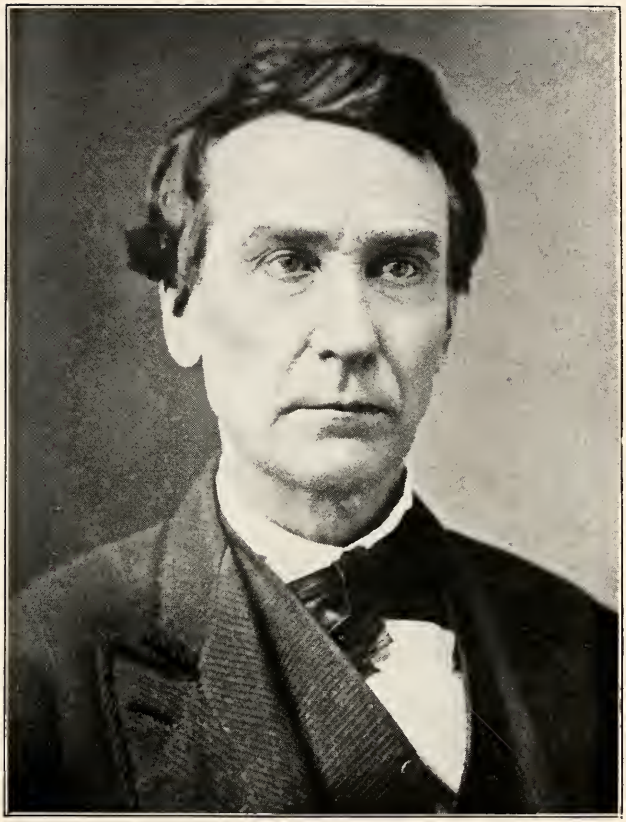
He was Chairman of the Committee appointed to prepare *"The Address to the People"* in submitting the New Constitution for their approval.

This "address" was read by William Henry Underwood on the last day of the Convention and was considered the concrete expression of delegate thought, and Mr. Bowen states it to be so succinct and important as to be entitled to republication in the above historical sketch.

Moses in his *"History of Illinois"* says of the Constitutional Convention of 1870 that, "It was the ablest deliberative body that ever convened in the State, a majority of the delegates being men of ripe experience, some on the bench or at the bar, some Congressmen, representative of the press (Joseph Medill) and a fair sprinkling of others who had attained distinction in the walks of finance and agriculture. The leaders of the body were: William J. and J. C. Allen, Elliot Anthony, William R. Archer, Reuben Benjamin, *Orville H. Browning,* Silas W. Bryan, Alfred M. Craig, Samuel P. Cummings, John Dement, Miles A. Fuller, Milton Hay, Snowden Hays, Jesse S. Hildrop, *Joseph Medill,* Samuel C. Parks, Edward Y. Ride, Lewis W. Ross, John Schoefield, Onias C. Skinner, *William H. Snyder, William H. Underwood,* Henry W. Wells, and George R. Wendling.

From the *Evening Journal,* Springfield, March 10, 1870:

"William H. Underwood may properly be styled 'the Father of the Convention' as he has been in political life since 1846, when he was elected to the House. He is now 52 years of age. He has lived in St. Clair County for 30 years. In another article about the Judges of Illinois, I shall refer more particularly to his connection with the Bench of this State. As soon as his term on the Bench expired, he was elected to the Senate (1854) serving with distinction from 1856-1864. Judge Underwood is next to Mr. Merriam one of the tallest of the Solons, keeps a cleanly shaved face, has a keen blue eye,



JUDGE WILLIAM HENRY UNDERWOOD

and is one of the slowest and most methodical speakers in the Convention. His voice is not strong but very clear. Politically he was a Democrat until the Kansas-Nebraska Bill loosened his hold on the party; when at the outbreak of the Rebellion he went over to the Republican Party. His legal and constitutional arguments are very clear and convincing and his long experience in the law has made him familiar with authorities on almost every question."

As the innumerable resolutions were received from organizations and individuals in all parts of the State they were referred to the proper committees. Amendments suggested by delegates went to the Committee of "Revision and Adjustment," of which William H. Underwood was a member. Every bit of the Constitution passed at some time under the scrutiny of this committee. Each section was then taken up by the committee as a whole, and in the note book of Judge Underwood are found his addresses on "Schools (for), Special Legislation (against), Railroads, Minority Representation, Banking, Insurance," and many others.

Again, to quote Mr. Bowen in the last Blue Book: "An address of Mr. Underwood against the reading of the Bible in the schools was the best presentation of that side of the subject that has been made."

Here is what Mr. Underwood says concerning the Bible:

"It is the only book which teaches us our origin and our destiny. It is the fairest history and the purest morals, contains the most sublime poetry; the most intricate metaphysics that can be found in any book. It is adapted to all classes, conditions and circumstances in life. It restrains men from vice, encourages every virtue; is a true guide in all the stages of life and cheers and sustains when no friend can aid in the solemn hour of death. The diffusion of that book over the world is essential to the peace of the world and the highest progress and prosperity of mankind. Wherever it is read and regarded, the highest liberty, civilization and happiness are enjoyed."

Nevertheless he voted against the *compulsory* reading of it in the public schools.

In 1851 he wrote for *The Sun* a series of twenty articles, entitled *"Bank Reminiscences,"* setting before the people opinions and admonitions against paper money, as a Banking Bill was about to be submitted to the people at the November election which dealt with the exclusive use of paper currency for the next twenty-five years, citing George Washington, Daniel Webster, Chief Justice Marshall, Judge Story; showed the reports of the Committee on Banks and Corporations in the Legislature of 1841-1847; the exploded system of John Law; showed the history of the Bank of Cairo; State Banks of Illinois, of Edwardsville, of Shawneetown; showed the working of this system and the defects in New York, where it originated. These articles were signed with the nom-de-plume *"Bullion."*

He wrote much for the Belleville *Advocate,* and from the nom-de-plume used the subject of the articles can easily be conjectured.

After the visit of Kossuth to this country in 1852, who urged the United States to interfere, on behalf of the liberty of Poland, he wrote an article which contains these words: "Our Goverment is not like many others, organized and administered to foster pomp, ambitions, alliances and conquest, but to secure our own population in their natural rights and to defend them against foreign aggressions. It is therefore

alien to its end and object to embroil our people in unnecessary war. War is always an evil and is only excusable when it cannot honorably be avoided consistent with the rights of the governed. Self preservation is the first law of nature and of nations. The danger in such cases must not be too remote or imaginary, but speedy and apparent." Signed *"Americanus."*

Another, "The Ohio and Mississippi," signed "An Illinoisan"; "Paper Money in Payment of Taxes," signed "Democrat"; "Position of Illinois Democracy," signed "Southern Illinois"; "The Cancer of Radicalism," signed "An Illinois Democrat"; "Taxation and Representation," signed "Phocion"; "A Few Words to Honest, Intelligent Laborers," signed "Amicus."

In 1860, when re-elected to the Senate, a Springfield paper contains the following:

"Hon. W. H. Underwood of St. Clair. One of the marked men of the Senate is Hon. W. H. Underwood of St. Clair County. He was born in Schenectady County, New York, on February 21, 1818, where he read law and was admitted to the bar. His father and mother, William and Amy Underwood, had other children named Demosthenes, Aristides, Themistocles, Joseph, Diana, Minerva. Ambitious of distinction in his profession, and having political aspirations, he resolved to take up his residence in the West, and Illinois presenting greater inducements to him than any other of the Western States, he resolved to immigrate here, bringing with him in his horsehair trunk copies of Byron's poems, Plutarch's Lives, Rollin's Ancient History, and Dryden's Poems."

He was a graduate of the Hudson River Academy, New York, and had been admitted to the bar after having read law in the office of William Hauck in Albany, New York. On his journey West he wrote letters to *The Sentinel,* the newspaper by whom he had been employed, describing his journey into Illinois in May, 1840, eighty-nine years ago, by way of stage coach from Schoharie, New York, to Schenectady. Here he took a boat, the "Niagara," for Buffalo.

He describes the passengers and the singing; says:

"I hate these canal bridges. They are despotic. The haughtiest aristocrat, if on deck, must bow before them. This very moment a dozen of us of both sexes were obliged to bow to a negro, black as tar, on a canal bridge. A little west of New London a man emerged from his log cabin and danced to our boatman's air 'Zip Coon.' Some of the hands began pelting him with potatoes, at which he only danced the harder exclaiming 'throw a peck, throw a peck.' Last night we were nearly devoured by the mosquitoes."

He describes Genessee Falls:

"Took passage at Buffalo for Chicago on the Madison, the largest steamboat on the Lake. I breathed free, the air was clear and exhilarating. I saw Buffalo fade in the distance with pleasure. Walking through every part of the boat I noticed our heterogeneous concourse of passengers. In the cabin were three dandies, eight dwarfs, six merchants, ten speculators, two editors, and seventeen men of no profession, seven old maids, three girls and five married women. In the steerage cabin were sixty passengers composed of men, women and children of American descent; Swiss, Germans and Indians with large families. On deck were over a hundred composed of mechanics, farmers, Indians, gamblers, pickpockets (for whose special benefit I purchased a Mississippi toothpick at Buffalo) soldiers, etc. All bound for the great, the profuse, the teeming, the boundless West."

He retails the political talk concerning Harrison and Van Buren. He describes a terrific storm on the lake. He mentions the number of

"Yankees" going west, enjoys their "quaint, humorous, odd, droll remarks"—"takes pains to get at the real political views of all of them."

Letter written June 4, 1840, follows:

"May 31—left Chicago at 10:00 o'clock last evening for Peoria in a stage coach in company with seven gentlemen and four ladies. In passing a seven mile marsh the wheels sunk to the hubs—the harness broke and one of the horses fell down at about midnight. The male passengers were obliged to apply all of their strength to the wheels to extricate the coach. We were in mud and water over the tops of our boots for more than half an hour. Two spindle dandies from Boston, at this made a pitiful wailing and abused everybody and everything. For they 'were certain of having fever and ague.' But the rest were genuine 'loco focos' who laughed danger and hardship in the face. While the ladies were whimpering and the dandies groaning, a Yankee from Otsego kept the others in a continual roar by his oddities. 'By jingo,' says he, 'this strange travelling in Illinois ain't what it's cracked up to be! The land is so fat that it's melted into grease. It's all grease and us grit. Darn the stage runners—now they've got our money they don't care if we do get swamped and because we've got in a slue they'll say we're *slued.*' Meanwhile the musketoes (or brokers as he called them) were sucking the best blood from our veins. At day break we were gladdened by as fair a sight of as fair a country as we could wish. Trees with wide spread branches were scattered at intervals and flowers of every hue were blooming around. There was an abundance of rolling land of the first order. The soil is from one to four feet deep, and looks very much like the Schoharie flats. What is cultivated appears like a garden."

He settled in Belleville, St. Clair County, in 1840, where he has since resided. He at once commenced the practice of his profession and displayed so much ability that the next year he was taken up and elected District Attorney, and re-elected in 1843 over the late Governor Bissell, who was his competitor. In 1845 he was chosen to represent his county in the House of Representatives of the State, where he at once took an active and leading part. In 1848 he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court. At the close of his term of office, he resumed the practice of his profession and his acknowledged ability as a lawyer and promptness as a business man at once secured him a large and lucrative practice. But he was not permitted long to remain out of public life, for in 1856 he was nominated by the Democracy for the State Senate in the St. Clair and Monroe district, and was elected by a majority of 2,500 over Lieutenant Governor Koerner, one of the ablest men in the State. In 1860 he was re-elected, John Scheel being his competitor. A Springfield paper says:

"Judge Underwood is one of the most industrious members of the Senate. He is always at work, always in his seat, never misses a meeting of his Committees, and has a holy horror of special legislation. Woe to the bill that contains any banking privileges in its belly, the senator mounts it roughshod, and if not defeated, it is no fault of his. Judge Underwood is an able debater, possesses fine literary acquirements, is a most estimable gentlemen, a good neighbor, kind friend, devoted husband, and with all a genuine 'old fogy' in his ideas of political economy. He is tall and spare, has a broad high forehead, blue eyes, pleasant countenance, a great smoker, in short is a 'model democrat.'"

Adam Snyder says:

"The Democratic State Convention was called December 5, 1841, to nominate candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. It was a representative gathering of Illinois' Democracy with delegates from 88 of the 91 coun-

ties. The St. Clair delegates were William H. Underwood, Phillip P. Fouke, David W. Hopkins, John Scheel, John Simpson, Phillip Penn and Gustavus Koerner."

The young New Yorker thus began his long career of public service.

His first law partner was Governor Reynolds, the request made in a letter written by the Governor after Mr. Underwood had practiced law in Illinois for one year.

His first case of any importance was that of Peter Jarrot vs. Madame Julia Jarrot, a negro slave sueing his mistress, in assumpsit, for services rendered. Judge Shields in the Circuit Court rendered verdict for the defendant, but the Supreme Court reversed the decision. Justice Young gave Jarrot his freedom, and thus established the rule that in Illinois, there was no authority for holding another human being in bondage.

One of his greatest speeches in the Legislature was the one delivered in sponsoring the Senate Bill in relation to the Massac County difficulties, where the "Regulators," forerunners of the Ku Klux Klan, perplexed the legislative and judicial authorities of the State. In Massac County two or three hundred men were running wild; whippings were a daily occurrence. The sheriff seemed to have no power; mobs were taking his prisoners from him. The same conditions existed as did in Williamson County so lately. From the Journals of the Legislature of that session, some part of almost every day was taken up with the discussion of bills for relief from the trouble. New York papers and those as far south as New Orleans contained editorials concerning the trouble. Judge Underwood's note book contains copies of two speeches delivered by him and published in the Belleville *Advocate.*

Judge Underwood drew up a bill, which passed both Houses. This bill required that every man should be tried by a jury of his own vicinage or neighborhood. This settled the difficulty and brought order from the existing chaos.

The men who served in the Legislature from 1856-1864 carried the marks of the stress and strain of that period to their graves. Judge Underwood wished to go into the army to fight for the preservation of the Union, but Abraham Lincoln wrote him urging that his presence in Springfield would be of more value to the Union than his presence on the field of battle.

During this exciting and memorable period his efforts were untiring to prevent secession and to restore peace and harmony. Just over forty, he felt he must join the army, and so wrote to Lincoln, who replied: "Your duty is not at the front. Some can carry muskets. Some must counsel."

In 1861 he was the author of a resolution to meet a Committee from Virginia and the other seceding states in order to "peaceably adjust the questions now distracting the states and national councils."

During this time he made many speeches in various parts of the State, principally in the southern part. The one he delivered in Nashville, Illinois, in September, 1861, on "Secession" seems worthy of preservation for all time.

One of the newspaper articles published before the election in January, 1861, says: "Judge Underwood has lived in Illinois twenty-

five years, has been a member of the lower House several terms, has been Circuit Judge several terms. He is a Democrat of the old Jacksonian stamp and loves the Union of these States 'above all earthly things.' In electing him to the United States Senate the Illinois Legislature would elevate one of the most worthy, most patriotic, most able men to a position he is eminently fitted for; a man who has deeply studied the principles of government, and who loves the Constitution of our fathers."

The following are quotations from a speech delivered in March, 1862: "We are unalterably opposed to a recognition of the Southern Confederacy. The Democratic party is accused of favoring a dissolution of the Union. This is a libel on its past history. The Constitution must be preserved. It is the ark of our safety."

This from a Springfield paper: "He is an able debater, possesses fine literary acquirements, is a gentleman, kind, sociable, genial. Although a firm Democrat, he is not a violent partisan. No man can go from office to office through a long series of years, as he has done, who is not worthy of popular confidence."

In 1861 we find in his diary these words: "The Union has been rent asunder in fact. Ah! for more light and more patriotism."

And further: "The Democratic party is ruled by slave owners."

So he, with a multitude of other independent thinkers who did not believe in slavery, joined the new movement which ultimately resulted in the formation of the Republican party, hoping it would be the party of true Democratic spirit.

His diary in 1862 says: "I have faith that the Union will be preserved for posterity, to be the haven for the oppressed of all lands." In 1864: "There is a proposed amendment to the Constitution to prohibit slavery in the States and Territories. The sooner it is passed the better. We have tried for many years to have peace with slavery and without success. In twenty years the slave States will bound forward in prosperity and they will thank God for their deliverance from such bondage."

In 1865 his diary notes: "Momentous events! The Southern armies have surrendered and been paroled! Our President assassinated without being permitted to see the consummation of American Emancipation! No man can now glory in our triumph."

From his diary in 1867: "I have labored during the War, spoken in the Legislature and out of it for a vigorous prosecution of war and have used my utmost efforts to allay a partisan animosity, and to unite the people. Was never a candidate for office in my life before a party Convention. Have always acted with such party as I supposed could promote the highest interests of the people and always expect to do so. I could never be a party slave! My own conscience must always tell me what is wrong and what is right. Our lives and our minds are misled and distracted by ten thousand useless and unnecessary speculations. One rule is enough to follow—Love God as manifested in Jesus Christ and imitate his benevolent and heroic conduct. Forms of church worship and their government, creeds and ceremonies are of small import.

God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must do so in spirit and in truth."

In the publication "An Outline Study of Illinois State History" prepared by Jessie Palmer Weber, late Librarian of the State Historical Library, in the reference list of books and pamphlets on file in the library under the title "Government and Laws" is found "Statutes of Illinois Construed" containing the Statutes of 1874 as amended by the Acts of 1876-1877 by Wm. H. Underwood with notes and references to all later decisions, prepared by R. A. Halbert.

After the Constitutional Convention of 1870, in 1873, Judge Underwood issued the first edition of "Illinois Statutes Construed." It was printed on fine tinted paper and interleaved with closely ruled writing paper to enable attorneys to write in new cases and changes made in the law. Judge Sidney Breese wrote of this edition, "Hon. Wm. H. Underwood: We have examined the work entitled 'Illinois Statutes Construed.' The selection of the cases expounding the text of the Constitution and the several statutes has been done with accuracy and good judgment. It will prove valuable alike to the bench and the bar, as a book of reference and information, that can no where else be found," signed, "Your friend Sidney Breese."

Judge Oliver A. Harker says of Judge Underwood, "His name and fame rest upon his legal talents and attainments. In knowledge of the Statute law and the reports of our Supreme Courts, he had no equal. This was amply proven by his annotations of the Illinois Revised Statutes. Upon that work he devoted many years of his life. It required immense patience and application. By it he laid the profession and especially the younger members of the bar under lasting obligations."

All during his lifetime he was deeply interested in education, both by public school method and colleges. He was a Trustee of McKendree College for some years, was deeply interested in successfully financing the School and served on a committee with Deneen, the grandfather of Senator Deneen, to bring about a solution. On one occasion when delivering an address on Civil Government before the Philosophian Society at McKendree College, he glanced down at the front row and his eyes rested upon a lovely girl. His diary records that in between his arguments on Civil Government, he made up his mind to marry her, and he so did. She was Elizabeth Smith, the grand-daughter of James Smith, the first Protestant Minister preaching in Illinois territory, at New Design.

The law firm of Trumbull and Underwood were the personal attorneys of Benjamin Godfrey, the giver of Monticello Seminary to western womanhood, and the charter for the school and the grant were written in their office. He wrote into his will that all of his daughters were to be educated at Monticello Seminary, and they were. Also his granddaughters.

As to religious beliefs, he joined the Presbyterian Church in Belleville in 1841 "together with his wife, Elizabeth, she being of the mature age of fourteen years, he being of the ripe age of twenty-two years—having been married one year, and having prospered," according to his

diary. He was elected an Elder in 1848 and was "Ruling Elder" at the time of his death in 1875.

He had builded himself a spacious home in Belleville on Abend Street. Hon. John B. Hay lived next door on the right, Governor Bissell on the left. Edward Abend, one of the foremost bankers in Southern Illinois, lived across the Street. Governor Koerner lived in the same block, a few houses north. Here he had planned to live, surrounded by his friends and his books. The north wing of his home housed his library, with a staircase leading to his bedroom above, for he had always worked far into the night, and consideration for his family caused him to make such an arrangement so as not to disturb them. His diary records the acquisition of one valuable book after another.

It was in this room that he walked the floor for twenty-four hours, deciding the fate of the murderer, who had thrown himself upon the mercy of the Court. But the Judge believed in capital punishment, the crime had been confessed and was atrocious, and so he sentenced the man "to hang by his neck until he was dead." In "Historical Sketch, St. Clair County, 1876"—Edward Wm. West—Elder of the Presbyterian Church says:

"Among Jurists and Legislators from St. Clair County and Madison County who have earned lasting fame and who ever demand our highest respect are: Lyman and George Trumbull, James Shields, Gustavus Koerner, John Reynolds, John Baker, Wm. H. Snyder, J. L. D. Morrison, Nathanial Niles, William Henry Underwood, John B. Hay,, Joseph Underwood, Sidney Breese, Joseph Gillespie, Wm. R. Morrison, Ninian Edwards, Wililam Kinney, Governor Reynolds, A. W. Snyder."

Upon the scene of many of his labors in the Circuit Court room in the Court House of Belleville, May, 1875, Judge Underwood was stricken with paralysis, of which he died September 23, the same year.

Judge Crow in an address at the Centennial Celebration at Belleville afterwards published in the *Belleville Advocate* quotes the Hon. Charles P. Johnson as follows:

"Of the Court House built in 1831 Hon. Charles P. Johnson says: 'I regret to say that this building was torn down some years ago and has disappeared forever. A more stately and convenient one has been erected in another part of the public square, but I doubt whether the new edifice will ever attain the same relative importance in the history of Illinois. In looking back over the period to which I refer, it strikes me as remarkable, when I consider the large number of men more or less prominent in the history of the State and nation who have graced with their presence that old building. Of the local bar, I recall as having heard speak on various occasions, Lyman and George Trumbull, Gustavus Koerner, James Shields, William H. Bissell, John Reynolds, Jehu Baker, William H. Snyder, Philip B. Fouke, J. L. D. Morrison, Nathanial Niles, William H. and Joseph Underwood and John B. Hay of the circuit, Sidney Breese, Joseph Gillespie and William R. Morrison; outside of that, Stephen A. Douglas, Richard M. Johnson, Edward Bates, A. P. Field, Usher F. Linder, Richard Yates, Will Wright, T. G. C. Davis, and R. F. Wingate. These names cause us to halt. They were bright stars in the constellation in which they moved.'"

The following is taken from an address of Judge James M. Dill, December 4, 1904, also printed in the *Belleville Advocate*:

"Here also was Judge William H. Underwood, a plain, stalwart man of unusual energy and industry; a lawyer of great ability, possessed of a memory so retentive that he could give the book and page of the decision of our Supreme Court in almost every case in which a legal principle of any

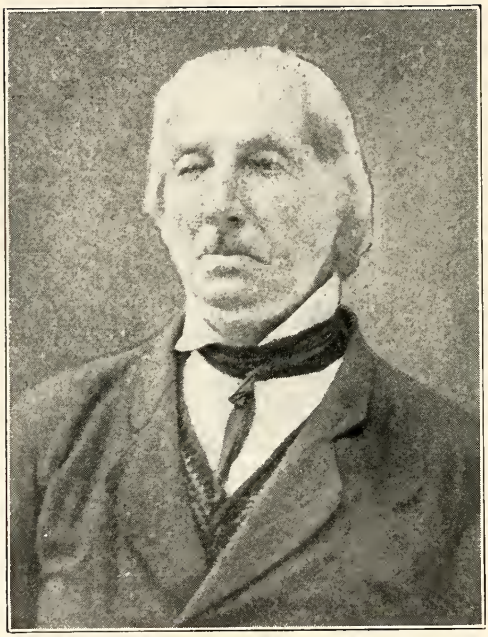
importance had been announced. And when we consider that these decisions filled more than seventy large volumes, it gives us some idea of the wonderful strength of his memory. So great was his courtesy to the younger members of the bar that he would at any time lay aside his work (and he was always busy) in order to give them advice on any knotty question of law that may have been troubling them. And this advice was freely given, with no desire nor expectation of pecuniary compensation. His reward was the gratitude of those who were benefited. As a judge of the Circuit Court, State Senator, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1870, and an annotator of the statutes, his services were of inestimable value to the people and the legal profession."

In the memorial proceedings to Hon. William H. Underwood, (which is the only case of a memorial to an attorney not a Supreme Court Judge), in volume 79 of the Illinois Supreme Court Reports at the proceeding upon his death at a meeting of the bar and in the Supreme Court of Illinois at the June Term, 1876, at Mt. Vernon in an address to the Court, Hon. Joseph Gillespie said:

"He was an invaluable member of the legislature, perfectly cognizant of everything that was transpiring around him. He had a remarkable aptitude for framing the organic laws of a community. He was, I may say, the prominent figure in the Convention that framed the Constitution of 1870. Although it contained the best talent in the State, Underwood's handiwork is, however, visible everywhere in its formation."

Mr. Chief Justice Sheldon in behalf of the Court responded:

"His career as a lawyer, judge and statesman has been a long and prominent one in the State, and the subject of wide public observation. His legal acquirements and ability were of superior order. The annotations of our statutes, which he published are painstaking and of valuable aid in their elucidation. His public service in the varied official positions, which he had filled, were most acceptably rendered, and marked with usefulness in their effect. His excellent qualities as a man and a citizen were held in universal esteem."



JOSEPH JODER

JOSEPH JODER, SCHOOLMASTER-FARMER AND POET 1797-1887

By Olynthus Clark
Professor of History in Drake University

It was Carlyle who said that history is composed of the biographies of great men. Macaulay, a contemporary of his, more clearly conceived of history as the sum of the thought and action of all men, the common and the great. It may, therefore, be proper to portray and appraise the life of an average man, who evidenced characteristics of both the common and the great, and see in him perchance a cross-section of the great mass of humanity, more and more taken into account in the writing of history.

This biographical sketch is the story and interpretation of a humble man. It is the life story of one born of lowly, obscure parentage, of one who lived the simple life, serene in his obscurity and inconspicuous in the big world of affairs.

So far as station, occupation and the daily routine of his work-a-day world is concerned, the story could be that of any one of the millions of Americans. There was, however, one factor which made him different, quite unlike the millions of which he was one; for, while he toiled as one of many, he thought as one of the few. He toiled to sustain life; he thought to understand life. In the former he never obtained beyond the common needs; in the latter he found the universal. He labored as all men; he thought as few men who so labor; he expressed his thoughts, and that to a purpose. But for his material necessities, his flights into the realm of the spiritual would have produced in him the visionary, the theorist, the idealist, which indeed he was. To many he was odd, even queer, a failure in life, because they knew not his world.

Joseph Joder was of Swiss ancestry. Like many a Swiss and German family, his immigrant ancestors floated down the Rhine and at a Dutch wharf took passage on a Dutch vessel for the promised land of William Penn. Thus it was that in 1720, the traditional date, Barbara Yoder (Joder), whose husband was buried *en route* in the waters of the Atlantic, with her eight sons and one daughter landed at Philadelphia.

From port of entry the widowed mother with her sturdy brood courageously journeyed farther on some fifty or sixty miles to the northwest, settling in Berks County, where the family merged with the farming population of that sparsely settled region. Seven of the sons married and reared large families. One of them, Christian by name, had a family of eleven children, six daughters and five sons, David, the youngest, being the father of Joseph Joder, the subject of this sketch.

David Yoder was married, about 1790, to Jacobine Esh, who came

with her parents from Switzerland during the American Revolution, in the year 1780.[1] To this union were born three sons and five daughters, Joseph being the fourth child and youngest of the sons, born near McCoytown, September 13, 1797. In 1811, David Yoder with his family moved from Berks County, the ancestral home for nearly one hundred years, to Mifflin County, where he purchased land and continued farming until his death in 1820, his wife having preceded him in 1817.[2]

It was here in Mifflin County that Joseph Joder grew to manhood, married and reared a family of seven daughters and one son. His wife was Catherine Lantz, daughter of Christian Lantz and sister of John Lantz, who married Magdalene, called "Lena," the sister of Joseph Joder. He continued farming as his gainful occupation, but added to that teaching school, doubtless more for his love of learning than for the small remuneration he received for teaching. To better his circumstances he moved with his increasing family to the adjacent county of Juniatta, where he continued his rural school teaching along with farming. Failing, however, to get ahead and in debt to a confiding and generous friend and neighbor, he decided to better his economic status by migrating to the West.

In the early spring of 1848 he departed with his family, in company with two other families, those of Elias Yoder, his nephew, and Yost Yoder, his brother-in-law, for the region of central Illinois. Glowing descriptions of these prairie lands had been sent back by relatives and friends already there. The families disposed of all of their livestock and other property, except a minimum of household effects, and went by canal and tramway, known as the "Pennsylvania System,"[3] to Pittsburgh, where they took passage on an Ohio River steamboat, *Belle of the West,* to St. Louis and there transferred to another boat which took them up the Illinois River to Pekin.[4] From here about the middle of May the families of Joseph Joder and his brother-in-law were hauled overland by wagon to the Mennonite community in the vicinity of Slabtown, long since extinct, near the site of the present village of Congerville. This was just inside the newly organized county of Woodford and about nine miles southeast of Eureka, in what was known as Walnut Grove, the thriving settlement of Kentuckians, followers of Alexander Campbell.

There being no farms tenantless at this time of year, the newcomers were cared for by the settlers as best they could, in frontier fashion and true pioneer hospitality. The Joder family was temporarily

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[1] Weaver, Mennonite Year Book, 1927, in sketch of Reverend Jonathan Yoder, p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Paxson, History of the American Frontier, p. 265.

[4] This traditional route and mode of travel is supported by a reminiscent letter of July 28, 1929, from Isaac H. Yoder of Lilly, Illinois, son of Elias Yoder, in recounting his father's conversation during the Civil War, upon his return from Cairo, Illinois, where he had gone to visit his nephew sick in the soldiers' hospital there. Says Mr. Yoder: "—when he came home he told us he had seen the old steamboat, *Belle of the West*, anchored at the wharf and went aboard her just for old acquaintance sake."

domiciled with the family of Christian Ropp,[5] a prosperous farmer and Mennonite preacher, who lived just across the Mackinaw River, north of Slabtown. Sleeping quarters for the young members of the temporary, joint household were provided in the large unplastered "upstairs," immediately under the shingles. The two families kept their separate tables, but prepared their meals on a common hearth, doing the baking in an outdoor oven and the cooking in cast iron pots and kettles. Milk, butter, eggs, and potatoes were furnished free to the newcomers from the Ropp larder. The Joders made one contribution to the Ropp garden and to the entire community; they introduced the tomato, having brought with them a bag of the seeds.

Here the Joders lived for six months, Mr. Joder and three of the daughters working on the Ropp farm for pay, particularly in cultivating and harvesting the crops. In the meantime Mr. Joder purchased from the Government, for the sum of $50, forty acres of timber land adjoining the Ropp farm. A vacant log house was secured and the neighbors staged a house-raising frolic by tearing it down, hauling the logs to the new farm and rebuilding it. Late in the autumn the family moved into their new home.

The family lived here but a year, Mr. Joder renting twenty acres of wheat and corn land from Mr. Ropp to augment his own meager "clearings" for a crop. By autumn, 1849, the Joders were ready to sell out to Mr. Ropp, who wished to add to his holdings, and they leased a farm a few miles distant and west of the then county seat town of Versailles, often visited by Lincoln on his circuit court junkets. Mr. Joder cherished the memory of Lincoln, whose acquaintance he made in those years. Here the family remained for five years, when in 1854 they purchased a farm[6] on the prairie about eight miles to the southeast and fourteen or fifteen miles from Bloomington. This farm was just inside the Woodford County line, the extreme southwest corner of Kansas Township, in the Rock Creek area, and was situated on the third principal meridian, two miles south of the Carlock-Benson settlement of White Oak Grove and bordering the settlement of the Rowell families recently come from New England. Here the Joders lived till 1862, when, the family grown to maturity, the son and five of the daughters married and settled on farms round about, they made one more and final move. Mr. Joder, having also secured another forty-acre tract, several miles to the north, sold the combined eighty acres[7] for $1,200 and bought an eighty-acre farm[8] three miles to the southeast in Dry Grove Township, McLean County, and nearer Bloomington.

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[5] A reminiscent letter of February 22, 1929, to Milo P. Lantz of Carlock, Ill., from Christian Ropp of Chicago, son of the Rev. Christian Ropp, which letter was dictated to and written by his daughter, Miss Theresa Ropp.

[6] The farm was purchased from Jonas Kauffman, son-in-law, July 11, 1854. Records of Woodford Co., Deed N p. 502.

[7] Sold to Jas. W. ("Uncle Jimmie") Brown, March 12, 1862. Deed Record O p. 574 (Woodford County).

[8] Bought from Jas. W. Brown, June 6, 1862, for $1,200.00 the E. quarter of the S. W. quarter of Sec. No. 5, Tpw. No. 24 N., Range 1 E. of 3rd P. M. This with the above sale, doubtless was in fact simply an exchange of lands.

Here it was that his life companion died in 1863, and his widowed daughter, Miriam, Mrs. Jonas Kauffman, whose husband was a victim of the cholera epidemic of 1855, and having already returned with her infant son to the old family home, became his housekeeper and home-maker. The two other daughters were also of the family, Emma, the youngest, for a few years until her marriage, and Mary, unmarried and a school teacher until her early death in 1871. In 1868 Mr. Joder sold the south forty acres of the farm to his daughter, Miriam, and doubtless used the proceeds to pay off the long-standing debt to his creditor friend in Pennsylvania.[9] Later he also deeded the other half of the farm to her for taking care of him in his approaching old age. Retiring from active work, he could now gratify his fondness for study and cultivate his talent for writing, and the ten years immediately following were the most productive in all his literary efforts. He died on the last day of the year, 1887, and on January 3, 1888,[10] his body was laid to rest in the family lot in the Lantz cemetery, two miles southeast of the present town of Carlock.

Joseph Joder's schooling was very limited, consisting of a few months at a time in the later years of his childhood, and confined to the mere elements. But upon coming to manhood he had acquired a mastery of the three R's and evinced a thirst for knowledge, which he manifested all through life, and to a high degree satisfied. If, as a youth, he knew more than any other "Pennsylvania Dutchman's" son of the time, it was because of his peculiar qualities of mind, his innate passion to know, together with his devotion to study and his love of learning. He became an educated man, largely self-taught and self-trained. His interest in learning and his ideal of service impelled him to teach, that he might help others to have something of what he attained.

As a teacher of rural children, those of his neighbors and friends, he was a typical schoolmaster of the old order, stressing the mastery of the rudiments and putting the knowledge gained to practical use. He practiced his faith in the dogma, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." Throughout his life whatever he did was done in the spirit and style of the schoolmaster, and he became known as Schoolmaster Joder. His school teaching, it appears, was almost wholly confined to his Pennsylvania period, was irregular and occasional, conducting either subscription school or public school, a few months of the year, during the dormant period of the rural folk.

He became a master of grammar, both English and German, and taught reading as he learned it, reading aloud, in a sing-song fashion. This manner of reading he continued throughout his life, even in his old age; persons passing by could hear Schoolmaster Joder reading aloud—strange and amusing to some, commonplace and monotonous to

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[9] Recollections from conversations with the writer's mother, Mrs. Anna Joder Clark.

[10] *Bloomington Leader*, Jan. 6. 1888. His old friend, Rev. Benj. Eicher, of Washington, Iowa, in carrying out a long-standing arrangement, preached the funeral discourse, the services being held in the North Danvers Mennonite Church.

others, sacred and comforting to a few. An expert in orthography, he attained a mastery of words, of their finer shades of meaning, equalled by few in his day. Reared in a "Pennsylvania Dutch" environment of a hundred and more years ago, he was brought up in that peculiar brogue, neither German nor English; but because of his acquired knowledge of expression he could readily slough off the jargon for himself, and being a schoolmaster, he hoped likewise to drill correct habits of speech, both German and English, into others. In this he became more or less disillusioned, although it was the hobby he rode through life.

He was interested in all the rudiments of knowledge, but was little concerned with method; what he thought of was content and achievement. As he sang his reading, so he sang his geography, which was a mere memorizing of names and places from the State of Maine, Augusta, on the Kennebec River, throughout, to the State of Texas, Austin, on the Colorado River, and repeating each couplet. In after years Schoolmaster Joder made constant use of geography along with his newspaper habit, none of his books showing more usage, unless it was the Bible and the dictionary, than his old well thumbed gazetteer. He evinced much interest in mathematics, especially higher mathematics as applied to astronomy, which he studied to some extent.[11] He, of course, taught arithmetic, but also studied geometry and algebra, there being among his books an 1845 edition of *First Lessons in Algebra,* by Ebenezer Bailey.[12]

On coming to Illinois, it seems, he did little teaching. He was engaged to teach a school in the winter of 1848-1849 at $10 per month, but was prevented by floods, the district lying on both sides of the Mackinaw, and an epidemic of sickness in the neighborhood. Later, after moving to the farm on the third principal meridian he received a certificate from the superintendent of schools of McLean County, Watkins, and for a term taught the rural school located on the west edge of what was known as the Vance prairie.[13] But while he did little teaching in Illinois his name was always associated with school teaching. In following farming he found, doubtless, that it afforded him the most time for meditation and for reflection on what he read or studied; for he could follow the plow or work with any other simple farming tool of that day while his thoughts soared. While he thus wrought a competent subsistence he furthered his intellectual bent, especially in language and religion, being both a linguist and a moralist.

He became a linguist of no mean attainment, applying his increasing knowledge of words and forms of expression in the several languages to his understanding of the Scriptures. He became highly expert in expressing shades of meaning, applying his knowledge to the correction of religious beliefs and practices among his own communion, the Mennonite, followers of the West Friesland, German reformer, Menno Simons.

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[11] Letter from Abia J. Sharp, a grandson, Portland, Oregon, February 26, 1929.

[12] In possession of Mrs. Frances Yoder Knapple, a granddaughter, Lexington, Nebraska.

[13] George A. Fry of Carlock, Illinois, recalls the time of his teaching school at this place.

Besides his proficiency in the study and use of English and German, the latter his mother tongue, Joseph Joder took up the study of Greek and Latin, and finally, in his old age, also that of Hebrew. He studied these ancient languages, just as he studied English and German, to know the meaning and use of words in their native purity, to learn the precise forms in order to express the various shades of thought. In his study of English and German there is no evidence that he became acquainted with the great classics of those literatures; likewise it does not appear that he was at all interested in the great classics of Greek and Roman literature. He cared naught, it seems, for either Shakespeare or Goethe, nor for Homer or Virgil.

The customary slovenly speech of his day, especially of the rural folk and particularly those of his own linguistic and religious connection, gave him great concern. His temperament and his schoolmaster habit of mind impelled him to perfect his own speech through first hand knowledge of the language, in which the original of what he was studying appeared. Ultimately it was the Bible that he wished to know, to understand. That could be realized only by knowing the language in which it was originally written, hence his enthusiasm for Greek.

Just when Schoolmaster Joder began the study of the ancient languages is difficult to determine. We do not know how much progress he made in his Pennsylvania period, but we do know that he made great progress after retiring from his regular vocation, about 1865. Among his few books is a Latin grammar, *Lateinische Grammatik, von C. G. Zumpt, Dr.,* copyright in 1826, which was a German-Latin text. For the study of Greek he had *The Elements of Greek Grammar,* by *R. Valpy, D. D., F. A. S.,* under date of 1839. The date of copyright has little bearing on the question of when he took up the study, since such special textbooks served their purpose for one or two generations. Certain it is that he did study Greek during the period of the Civil War, having the assistance of Miss Clarissa Bottsford, a young college woman who taught the Prairie School in 1867-1868, the school, long since gone, standing in the field about one-half mile to the south of the present town of Carlock. He became proficient in Greek and Latin, making particular use of the Greek in reading the Greek New Testament, which, as is well known, was the main purpose of his study.

Some time later we find him tackling Hebrew for the purpose of obtaining a more accurate, first-hand acquaintance with the original of the Old Testament. When he began the study we cannot now determine, but we do know that he pursued the study assiduously during the winter of 1879-1880, and that at the ripe age of 82 years. His tutor was Miss Josephine Giddings of Bloomington, who was graduated from Illinois Wesleyan University in June, 1879, and who taught the Bunker Hill School, successor to the Prairie School, and about a half mile farther east on the public highway. He doubtless found Hebrew somewhat difficult, and I think did little with it after the departure of his tutor. But let Mrs. Josephine Giddings James of Miami, Florida, give her own version of the singular circumstance. Says Mrs. James:

"I was glad to think that I might be allowed to help in writing the story of that, to me, very wonderful old man, Joseph Joder. I can never forget the

peculiar way in which he came to Bunker Hill one day at close of school and asked if he could enroll as one of my pupils. I was young and very inexperienced and did not know how to reply to him, but he soon made it clear that he needed help in his study of Hebrew, hoping to master it that he might read the Scriptures in the original text. I found him to be well acquainted with Greek and Latin, and as I met and studied with him from time to time, I was amazed at the receptivity of his mind and the ease with which he grasped the fundamental principles of the language. As you will remember, this was in the fall of 1879 and the early winter of 1880. Soon he brought a copy of a Hebrew, or Yiddish newspaper to exercise his new knowledge upon, and the lessons were just as interesting and helpful to me as to him. He gave me several of his poems, but I regret that during the years of my busy life, I have lost track of them. I recall that one of them had to do with 'woman' and her ability, and his ideas were so advanced for those days, as to be wonderful. I never met him, after the close of that seven months' school, so do not know how far he carried his excursion into the Hebrew literature. I count it a very great privilege to have had that fellowship with him, as I felt that he was a man of great soul and wide vision."[14]

Joseph Joder's intimate knowledge of German and English, coupled with his well known passion for precision, led him to change the established spelling of his family name, changing Yoder to Joder. Just when he effected the change is not yet known, but it seems evident that he had wrought the change before coming to Illinois, which means that he had become expert in the study of German and English in his Pennsylvania period. The name translated into English by simply taking over the German pronunciation, made it "Yoder," the "d" in the translation having early displaced the "t," doubled ("tt") in the German pronunciation and spelling. The "Yod" being the partly Anglicized spelling, came from the German sound of the letter "j," pronounced "yot." Now, keeping the "od" in the English writing of the modified German pronunciation of the letter "j" as a basic part of the name, our critic contended that in writing the name, the German spelling and not the German sound should govern the English spelling; hence, we have "J-od" instead of "Y-od," making the name "J-o-d-e-r" —Joder.

None of the numerous families, however, going back to the first American ancestor, Barbara Yoder, would accept the revised spelling of this reformer kinsman, this stickler for linguistic exactness, disturber of the divine order of things. His only son, Iddo, however, continued the revised spelling and pronunciation. The three sons of Iddo Joder adhere to the same style, one of whom has six sons, hence the name Joder gives some promise of being perpetuated.

As observed before, that which distinguished Joseph Joder, setting him apart from the many, was the fact that he came to think on various matters of life, and to write down his thoughts. He wrote both prose and poetry, choosing for the most part the poetic forms of expression; there are but few prose articles of his extant. All his writings tend toward the poetic; in fact, his speech in common conversation was often

[14] Letter of April 18, 1929 to Milo P. Lantz, who, with the writer were pupils in her school at old Bunker Hill.

rhythmic as it was formal and precise.[15] His poetic instinct, his fascination for rhythmic expression led him to write poetry. His very soul apparently found delight and satisfaction in contemplating and expressing the finer shades of meaning in words and thought, which was the better brought out in rhythm, the music of expression. Being a rather plainly spoken, blunt man, and even though his prose reveals the poetic temperament, it was harsher, more cutting than poetry, the latter form taking out the sting, softened and smoothed down his expressions.

The schoolmaster-poet may have earlier played at writing poetry, but none has come down to us prior to mid-century, and not before he was beginning to find himself in his religious thinking. He then, doubtless, sensed the fact that the poetic form of expression tended to soften his controversial teachings. It may be, too, that before then he had nothing worth offering. The first poem bearing a date is one written in 1857, at the age of 60; he, therefore, had thirty more years in which to write—time to meditate, contemplate, and to jot down his poetic moralizings, to express his philosophy of life.

He wrote poems in both English and German, the collection thus far assembled numbering forty, twenty each of English and German. It is practically certain, however, that all have not yet been found. They have been preserved, for the most part, in printed form, from one to three on a single sheet, and in certain newspapers, especially the two local Bloomington papers, the *Pantagraph* and the *Leader,* the latter long since having been discontinued. Several in German appeared in the *Herald of Truth,*[16] a religious journal of his communion, printed in both German and English. This paper was launched in 1864 in Chicago and after 1867 was published in Elkhart, Indiana, until its discontinuance in 1908. Several poems also appear only in manuscript, some of which are found in the "Scrap Book,"[17] kept by his school-teacher

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[15] As for example, when he called to his nine-year old son, Iddo, to saddle his horse preparatory for a short horseback trip with a visiting friend whom he was entertaining in his study:

"Iddo! Iddo! sattel mein Rosz,
Ich bin gefangen in meinem Schlosz."

Instance related by Solomon Yoder of Allensville, Pennsylvania, to Milo P. Lantz, September, 1928. Letter to the writer, October 10, 1928.

[16] The following poems, by title and date, appear in this journal:

"Der Pharisäer und der Zöllner," May, 1865.

"Es wird gesäet ein naturliger Leib, und wird auferstehen ein geistlicher Leib," November, 1865.

"Seid ihr aber ohne zuchtung, so seid ihr Bastarde, und nicht Kinder," November, 1865, p. 93.

"So ermahne ich nun euch, ich Gefangen in dem Herren, dasz ihr wandelt wie sichs gebürhet, eurem Beruf, darinnen ihr berufen seid," December, 1868.

"Freuet euch in dem Herren allewege," December, 1870, p. 183.

Wer wünscht nicht Abzuscheiden?" September, 1871, p. 141.

[17] The following manuscript poems are found in the "Scrap Book":

"Time and Life"—twenty stanzas, probably the first of his poems, for it is given first place in the "Scrap Book."

"Whence and Why Am I?" dated 1857—ten six-line stanzas.

"White Oak Grove"—doubtless between 1857–1860, composing seventeen six-line stanzas.

"The Goodness of God," 1860—four four-line stanzas.

daughter, Mary Joder, and which was continued by him after her death (1871).

The poems in German, practically all of them, deal with religious themes, while those in English cover a pretty wide range of subject matter. In addition to those already listed in footnotes, the following are the most noteworthy:

IN ENGLISH

"Rejoice Evermore" (before 1860).
"Our Father's Will" (about 1862-1864).
"The Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath."
"English vs. German" (in the '70's).
"A Visit by Sermo" (in the '70's).
"Love."
"To a Little Girl."

IN GERMAN

"Die Frohe Botschaft" (Glad Tidings) (1869).
"Nachtrag Zur Frohen Botschaft" (1870).
"Zweiter Nachtrag Zur Frohen Botschaft" (1871).
"Nachträge Zu Frohen Botschaft" (1871).
"Du Verheiszung; das ewige Leben."

"Kirchweih Hymne" (dedication hymn for the North Danvers Mennonite Church, 1872).

The author's linguistic interest is portrayed in his poem entitled, "English vs. German," in which he praises what to him is the strength and beauty of the German language as compared with the English. It is a couplet poem of 124 lines, both narrative and discursive, depicting a dispute between two school boy truants, one English ("Eng") and the

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"Hail Our Country's Natal Morn," about 1859—four four-line stanzas and in handwriting of Mary Joder, pasted in the back of the "Scrap Book." This poem was composed and read by the author at a Fourth of July celebration at Stout's Grove, Illinois.

"Children," undated, five four-line stanzas, and "Adults," four four-line stanzas; both in the author's handwriting, one on each side of a sheet of foolscap paper.

"In Memory of Mary Clark" (1856–1868), dated March 7, 1868; one of a series of three poems about Mary, one of his favorites.

"Der Eheliche Zirkel," December, 1861; a five-stanza poem of four lines each, written for his son, Iddo, at the time of his marriage to Anna Gerber, and in the possession of Mrs. Emma Joder Duncan, a granddaughter, of Fairbault, Minnesota.

"Der Reiter auf dem Weiszen Pferd."

"Habt Salz bei euch and habt Freeden unter einander."

"Funkle, Funkle Kleine Stern." (A translation of "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star.")

"Christus Spricht," 1878.

"Mein 84 Zur Jehrstog, September 13, 1881." ("My 84th Birthday.")

other German ("Germ"). The anecdote on which this linguistic disputation is based reads thus:

"Two urchins playing near a pool,
Both truants from the village school,
Amused themselves in idle play,
Sticks, mud, and stones in piles to lay;
And gather on the barren strand
Shells, pebbles, and the shining sand.
In harmony their time they spend
While both pursue a common end;
And to perpetuate their fame,
Resolve to give their piles a name.
Eng calls them mud, and Germ says Dreck.

Here they fall out, each scorning the speech of the other and praising that of his own. The English advocate, after an outburst of vituperative denunciation of the German tongue, says:

" 'And finally, to prove at last
That I am of superior cast,
And make your obtuse mind to see,
I will produce my pedigree.
My father is an Irish Scotch,
My mother's origin is Dutch;
My name is English, and my face
Proves me of Anglo-Saxon race.
My language is without defect,
And mine's a perfect dialect.
My accent is without dispute,
Rich, copious, flowing and acute.

While Eng thus spoke, without a blush,
I was nearby behind a bush;
Could hear and see, by them unseen,
The bush affording me a screen.

When Germ resumed, to make reply,
I saw the fire in his eye;
The impulse which he strove to hide
Proved him somewhat electrified.

The young proponent of the German tongue then comes back at the Englishman with ridicule and denunciation, showing up the mixed pedigree of the English language and confusion in the use of words:

" 'To me,' said Germ, ' 'tis no surprise
To hear you boast of great and wise;
Some such ideas seem innate,
And only cobblers thus inflate.
That I am of inferior rate,
According to your estimate,
But proves that ignorance and pride
Are ever dwelling side by side.
Your ranting boastfully denies
Your origin and old allies,
And fancy yourself wiser grown—
Repudiate what is your own.
Your ignorance, which rails me Dutch,
Has proved yourself to be of such.

The German language is my name—
Of ancient date, renown, and fame;
Both scholars, linguists—all agree,
In beauty, strength, facility,
I stand unrivaled in the throng
Of modern dialects or tongue.
Of living languages today,
Mine is the palm—I bear the sway.

Your tongue is of a recent date,
And in a crude and barb'rous state,
Composed of blunders and defects—
A concrete of all dialects.
The Norman, French, the Irish, Scotch,
The Saxon, Danish, Welch, and Dutch,
You mold and hammer, chip and scrape,
To form this mass into some shape.
And finally, to make it smooth,
You draw on me for love and truth.

Your verbal variation's lean,
And by your conjugation's seen;
And what unvaried you express,
The reader has to find by guess,
And with the same identic word
You opposite in sense record.
The heavenly luminary bright
Dispels the darkness by his light.
Again, a thing as light you rate,
Of trifling value, worth, or weight.
Your horse runs fast which you bestride,
And he is fast when he is tied;
A man lives fast by pleasures lured,
And he is fast—in jail immured.
He keeps a fast when he abstains
From nourishment—his course restrains.
Thus fast, four times, is made to mean
Swift and inert, chaste and obscene.
Your sense on words is nicely placed,
Like tattered clothes by patches graced;
And though you strive defects to screen,
There's many a gap and rent between.
This galling thorn to wounded pride
You can't escape by parricide.
Your origin, acknowledged base,
It's impress you cannot efface.[18]

Joseph Joder was regarded by many as lacking in sentiment, wanting in the appreciation of nature. True, he was meditative, apparently always in deep thought. He was introspective, subjective rather than objective; a thinker rather than an actor. He was thinking constantly on his duties to his God and of his relations to his fellowmen. But while most of his writings were introspective, of a moral and religious nature, he did, however, see his surroundings and was attracted by the beauties of nature. Profoundly stirred by the wonders of the natural

[18] This poem was privately printed by Christian Ropp (the younger) at his own expense and was widely circulated.—Letter of Edwin O. Ropp, Normal, Ill., March 15, 1929.

world, he was equally impressed with his own moral responsibility. One of his finest poems is that entitled *White Oak Grove,*[19] in which he rises to the heights of poetic expression and betrays deep interest and insight into the delights of nature.

To the poet this grove was a charmed spot. He spent most of his Illinois life within a few miles of this timber line, his farm home situated on the fertile prairie to the south. White Oak Grove extended about six miles east and west on the borders of Woodford and McLean counties and constituted the timbered area south from the Mackinaw, which stream rises some forty or fifty miles to the east in western Ford County. This grove of many kinds of trees, the white oak predominating, furnished wood for the prairie settlers—wood for their hearths and stoves, for building their fences and even affording considerable walnut and oak lumber for their houses and barns. To "White Oak" is where the people from far and near went blackberrying or nutting and along its streams went afishing. To the prairie dwellers the grove seemed like a forest.

Of the seventeen stanzas in the poem, the first ten feature the grove. The next two picture the beauties, the wealth of treasure in the world, the goods that satisfy man's needs, the comforts, peace and contentment that are man's inheritance, which musings lay the foundation for the poet's moralizing in the last five stanzas. These yield the lesson that good cannot come out of evil—love alone begets good, dwelling in the human heart. The poem is here given in full:

WHITE OAK GROVE

This splendid world is wide and fair,
And many pleasant spots are there,
Inhabited by human kind,
The subjects of immortal mind.
If all enlightened, all were wise,
This world would be a Paradise.

There is a spot on this wide earth,
Unknown to classic fame by birth,
But by the Poet's taste or whim,
This spot is much endeared to him.
It charms his fancy, shares his love,
In common speech called, White Oak Grove.

This grove, as from a distance seen,
Seems like a belt of lovely green.
But when we take a nearer view,
We own it tall, majestic too.
The hic'ry, oak and maple high
Peering upward to the sky.

Like silent monitors they stand,
Point heavenward—a better land—
While overhead the branches wreathe,
A pleasant shade lies underneath.
And feathered warblers on the sprays
Sing joyful hymns of thanks and praise.

[19] "Scrap Book," in manuscript, pp. 9–11.

To him who gave them vocal powers,
Built for them such lovely bow'rs.
And as we enter there is found,
Dame Nature's carpet on the ground,
With flowers in profusion spread,
On which we hardly dare to tread.

And as we stroll among the hills,
'Twixt bubbling springs and cooling rills,
The sense inhales beneath the trees,
Sweet odors wafted by the breeze.
As we approach the Mackinaw
High towering bluffs strike us with awe.

Secure they stand, in looming pride,
As guards of treasure which they hide.
And scowling from their dizzy height,
Seem jealous of their vested right.
Around their steep and solid base,
The rapid stream in eddies plays.

In whose deep bosom, bright and clear,
The various finny tribes appear,—
The nimble trout in speckled pride,
Which must be caught before 'tis fried.
In fact, perhaps, 'twere ever best,
To do likewise with all the rest.

Now tracing back our ample round,
Across the Grove's enchanted ground,
Where graze, in herds, on velvet lawn,
The wary Deer and timid Fawn.
And as we reach the southern side,
More pleasing prospects open wide.

The grove extending both her arms
Embraces fertile fields and farms.
In broadly stretching tracts is seen
The growing corn in deepest green,
With interspersing herd and flock,
And ripe cereals in the shock.

This surely is enchanted ground,
With nature's blessings all around.
Each man beneath his fig and vine,
In perfect safety may recline.
Mortals happy without whining,
Bless their lot without repining.

A pleasant spot is White Oak Grove,
A rule divine's love—only love—
And those who practice it will find
Heavenly bliss in their own mind.
For love alone can love impart
God's kingdom in the human heart.

Where schools and churches all around
Intelligence too should abound.
Morals sound with education,
Are the strongholds of a nation.
All seem happy in possession,
And sincere in their profession.

But one of very different race
A dastard, coward, meanly base,
One of the cloven footed breed
Too largely figures in the creed.
Who though esteemed a sorry cur,
Is thought a necessary spur.

Held up a terror, we are told,
To frighten sheep into the fold.
The rule of vengeance, Wrong for Wrong,
Has been in practice much too long,
Though it never since Creation,
Has produced one reformation.

The Savior's charge, Love those who hate,
As binding now, as when first made,—
Could wrath and anger love produce
Then vengeance might have some excuse.
But passions of the human mind
Can only reproduce their kind.

The tyrant fear, will ever sway
With iron rule, those who obey.
Enslaved by fear man's never free,
A bigot or a pharisee.
The love of God made all things well,
But man, for man, makes endless Hell.

Again, the poem, *Rejoice Evermore* is one in which he draws a moral and religious lesson from out the abundance of nature's lap. The poet bursts forth with—

"Who would be a gloomy pate,
Ever in a fretful state,
Deep in sorrow drowning.
Never see above the storm,
Dancing sunbeams bright and warm,
All with glory crowning.

In this gaily furnished world,
Much of beauty is unfurled;
Grandeur is unsheathing.
In our pathway flowerlets grow,
All their smiling beauty show,
Sweetest odors breathing.

Cheering prospects everywhere,
From the earth, the skies and air,
Smiling angels greet us.
And when fainting in the way,
These companions sweetly say,
Persevere and meet us.

Then from here on, the poet strikes his gait, moralizing on human conduct, love and religion, with—

To be deeply wrapped in gloom
On the journey to the tomb,
There is no occasion;
Since the gospel pages bright,
Life immortal brought to light,
And the great salvation."

In the remaining six stanzas the poet rather ingeniously weaves a fabric of the warp of nature and the woof of religion, working out his conception of love, human and divine.

In the poem, a German translation of *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star,* he not only shows the author's fine poetic sense, but illustrates his appreciation of his surroundings as well as his thoughts on the wonders of the universe. Astronomy was a subject which attracted him although he pursued it but little, yet to him it was a sort of revelation of the power of God.

Joseph Joder was a devoutly religious man. In religion and morals he was, as in all things, serious, and just as severe as he was sincere. He lived honestly, walked humbly and worshipped devoutly his God. Had it not been for the practice of his church, he doubtless would have become a minister. But men in the Mennonite Church did not choose the ministry; men were chosen to be ministers, chosen by lot from the membership by the members of any particular congregation needing a minister. Ministers served without pay, each preacher following any gainful occupation he wished, usually farming, and, therefore, like all others, none above another, he too earned his daily bread by the sweat of his brow. Besides, Schoolmaster Joder was not the type of man to be singled out for the ministry, since he was too independent a thinker for that day to be acceptable. He was a thorough student of the Bible and in scholarship, intellectual acumen and ability in disputation was conceded too much even for the bishops of the church to cope with, being regarded by many, in his ripened years, as a vender of heretical ideas, a rather dangerous or troublesome man in the church.

To understand his religious life and the church controversy which the schoolmaster-poet engendered, it is necessary to note some of the essential characteristics of the Mennonite church. It is an evangelical communion, much in common with such bodies as the Friends, the Christian Brethren and Dunkards, and in polity somewhat similar to the Methodist Episcopal church.

The Mennonites were simple in their faith. In doctrine they were rather harsh, preaching in common with most communions of that day, the wrath of God and eternal punishment. Consideration was given the current superstitions, following somewhat signs and wonders in the daily round of life. Not having an educated, trained ministry, save as each preacher would see to that himself, the Scriptures were read on the surface, taken literally rather than symbolically and with a sort of holy awe, regarded as the only will of God and final divine authority. Among their customs, for example, was that of feet-washing, practiced as an authorized ordinance rather than a mere symbol of brotherly love.

In organization, the Mennonites were a democratic body, congregational in government; yet the churches were grouped into conferences, district and national, having bishops over the individual churches and conferences. They were, however, not united, there being then as many as eight or ten different general divisions of the church in the United States. There are at the present time, thirteen major divisions and eighteen minor divisions.[20] For the most part, they then used only the

[20] Smith, History of Mennonites in America, pp. 452–53.

German language in their church services, although there early appeared a progressive off-shoot which used English exclusively and following the usual modes and ceremonies of the leading Protestant communions. Today there are still others which cannot be distinguished, for example, from Methodist or Presbyterian. In Joseph Joder's day the bishops and the conferences of his branch exercised a very definite control over members and congregations, particularly holding them to orthodox beliefs.

To the Mennonites the Scriptures, more or less indirectly, yet dogmatically, prescribed their dress. Banishing all personal adornment, their dress was severely plain, simple in cut and drab in color. They, the stricter divisions, were everywhere recognized by this uniformity of fashion. They forbade the wearing of buttons, continuing instead the use of hooks and eyes, while, of course, jewelry was a proscribed badge of worldly vanity. Hats for women were tabooed, sun-bonnets being worn instead, while the men wore the uniformly broad-brimmed hats. In common with the whole Puritan movement, their "meeting-houses" of that day were plain, uninviting, if not positively ugly. The services, likewise, were simple, long-drawn and monotonous, with all musical instruments banned.

But it must not be inferred that the Mennonites were a people as somber and gloomy as their early religious beliefs and customs might indicate; on the contrary, our schoolmaster's branch of the communion constituted a rather wide-awake, joyous and happy people. They were not only industrious and law-abidding, but they were a normal part of the civil community, making and administering laws. They likewise mingled with and to some extent were a part of the social life of the community, and doubtless came as near as any religious group to expressing their religion in right personal conduct, very few committing serious breaches of order or ever becoming inmates of jails or almshouses. Intelligent patrons of the public school, they became possessors of those common bonds of knowledge, which made for a high level of American citizenship.

It was the earlier, narrow religious environment into which Joseph Joder was born, and, it was that former intellectual barrenness and harsh religious teaching which he sought to change that brought him into controversy and disrepute with the church leadership. He brought persecution upon himself by his fight for religious freedom.

In the prime of his life, however, he was heard and he exercised a far greater influence in the church, among the people, through his religious and moral ideas than he has been given credit for, or than those of this generation know, largely because the reactionaries cast him out, both persecuting him and ignoring his teachings, besides poisoning the minds of people against him, and obliterating his work.

On coming to Illinois, Schoolmaster Joder became a charter member of the newly organized Rock Creek Mennonite Church, 1853, of which his older brother, Reverend Jonathan Yoder, who two years before also migrated to Illinois, became the pastor and bishop. Reverend Yoder was likewise a man of keen mind, self-educated and, for that day, a progressive and, moreover, a wise leader. The two brothers apparently had much in common, but Reverend Yoder's death, in 1869, soon brought

about a change, evidenced in an attack upon the teachings of the liberal layman, Joseph Joder.

In his thinking and close study of the Scriptures, Joseph Joder had come to embrace the doctrine of God's love instead of adhering to the orthodox view of the wrath of God. Several of his most spiritual and forceful poems set forth his new convictions on love, the first one appearing in 1857, entitled, *Whence and Why Am I?* In this he first speaks of the splendid world in which he finds himself,

> "A world of splendor and of woe,
> Where joys and sorrows ebb and flow,

and points out the beauties of nature, the riches and pleasures enjoyed by man, all of which pass away. Then naming various parts of the human body, their interdependence, functions and powers, the poet cries out,

> "There's nothing wanting, no defect,
> The stronger still the weak protect.
> And all harmoniously combined,
> Shows plan and purpose predestined.
>
> * * * * * *
>
> "And when the work assigned is done,
> This body will to dust return.

and concluded that,

> "I'm placed here only to prepare,
> The endless joys of heaven to share.

Then in good orthodox fashion, he speaks of Jesus' love, saying:

> "This love unbounded I adore
> In faith and praises evermore.
> I long in floods of light divine,
> My song with saints above to join.

Ending with,

> "Religion is that heavenly guest,
> Which brings my soul in Christ to rest.
> The spirit is that emblem dove,
> Which bears the 'Olive Wreath' of love.
> And faith exulting lends the wing,
> I mount and my redeemer sing."

Now there is nothing herein contained at which a modern fundamentalist could take offense; but the error in the poet's doctrine was in that which was omitted, the heresey of failing to preach the wrath of God. In several subsequent poems he worked out more fully his doctrine of love, particularly in the last five stanzas of his *White Oak Grove,* cited before. In another short poem—three stanzas—on *Love,* he works up to and in the last stanza, proclaims

> "Love's universal reign."

Three years later, in 1860, appeared his second poem on love, a short one of four stanzas, each of four lines, called *The Goodness of God.* It is thoroughly orthodox, based on the saying of Paul, the Apostle: "This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," the third stanza clinching his doc-

trine of love and sounding also his other appearing heresy, that of universal salvation. It reads:

"Come all mankind, attend the call,
Come to the Grace of God, come all,
The God of Love can never hate,
His call suits every case and state."

Not long after this, the exact time is uncertain, but somewhere between 1862 and 1864, appeared *Our Father's Will* based on the text, "Eph. 1:5," "Having predestinated us to be adopted as Sons, through Jesus Christ, for himself, according to the good pleasure of his will." This is a poem of nineteen four-line stanzas, in which the author presents the doctrines of love and universal salvation as found, according to the poet's thought, in the will left by the Father, the will having been signed, sealed, attested and recorded, a duplicate copy being in the author's possession.

"A duplicate copy is given to me,
A transcript from records of eternity;
A guardian's appointed to manage my case,
Till I come to manhood and fullness of days.

Yet many there are who my title dispute;
Disclaimers endeavor my rights to refute.
Their object is evident, plainly you see
Their envious grudging, desiring a fee."

The following stanzas taken from different parts of the poem illustrate the style and process of the author in developing his ideas:

"The Gospel, 'Glad Tidings,' from heaven was brought
By Angels, announcing the soul-cheering thought;

* * * * * * *

With him is the Balm, all diseases to cure,
His mercy and goodness forever endure.
His kindness and love, his creation adorn,
And man is his offspring before he is born.

* * * * * * *

The plan of creation is not therefore lost,
And those who neglect it shall suffer the cost,
Yet all of mankind by redemption are bought,
All have one Destiny, Savior and God.

* * * * * * *

The plan of creation, from mankind concealed,
And now by 'The Christ,' the Savior revealed,
That all are embraced by grace and salvation,
Shall come to knowledge and regeneration."

* * * * * * *

There was enough of the dynamite of heresy in this poem to brand the author "a Universalist" indeed. The branding soon followed, but not just at that time, since the poem was in English and did not at once find its way into the hands of the powerful church conference leaders, centering in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. It appeared at the time in the *Bloomington Pantagraph*,[21] giving the author a favorable local hearing. It had a leavening effect on many of the rank and file of the

[21] Scrap Book, p. 62. The poem is clipped from the *Pantagraph*, but the writer has as yet not been able to examine the files of that paper to locate it.

Rock Creek church.[22] It was inevitable that his new doctrine of love could not stop short of universality, and the author, if not courting trouble, did not hide his light under a bushel.

Within six or eight years thereafter, our controversial poet wrote several other poems, one after another, in German and, therefore, intended for the Mennonite people, especially for the church leaders, preachers and bishops. The first of these, in 1869, entitled, *Die Frohe Botschaft,* translated *Glad Tidings,* sets forth fully the new doctrines of love and universal salvation. The poem created a commotion, coming before the General Mennonite Conference at Fulton, Ohio, in 1870. It led at once to his persecution and soon thereafter to his being pronounced a heretic. I am including here a brief interpretative analysis of the offensive poem, written by Milo P. Lantz[23] of Carlock, Illinois, grand-nephew of its author.

"*Die Frohe Botschaft* is a message to Mennonites of that time in particular. It gives the author's views of what the Bible teaches, as well as denouncing things the church teaches, which the author believes the Bible does not teach. This poem is the result of years of patient study of the Scriptures, reading the New Testament in the original tongue, and the whole Bible in the German and English translations. It purports to be a common sense interpretation of biblical teachings of the major tenets of Christianity, as well as a denunciation of the teachings or doctrines the author believes are not to be founded on the Scriptures.

"The poem is couched in common sense language addressed to common sense people, and common sense people understood. The poet's ideas are concise, clear cut; the language is simple and direct, befitting the ideas expressed. The arguments advanced are buttressed by twenty-seven scriptural quotations, besides the text as authority for his faith. The opening stanza decries the teaching of the doctrine of eternal punishment, as unscriptural, belying the grace of God; as a fable of heathenish conception. Men, he says, are sinners, yet are God's children, and His children receive infinitely greater gifts than a human father can confer on his children. He teaches that Christ came to save sinners, to redeem them, and that in his sacrificial death redemption is accomplished—completed—and eternal bliss awaits all mankind. In succeeding stanzas the poet urges the adoption of the fundamental teachings of Christ in our daily conduct toward those about us. Salvation by works he denounces as unworthy of merit—hypocritical, but works, the outgrowth of love, are commended as the greatest evidence of a Christian life. In the final stanza the poet visions the complete fruition of the work of Love, making all things like unto her; until the whole earth becomes a Universe ('Universum'), a peaceful Kingdom of Heaven on earth."

Early in the '60's the Mennonite Churches of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois had effected an organization known as the General Mennonite Conference, the first session of which was held in Wayne County, Ohio, in 1862. Reverend Jonathan Yoder, brother of Joseph Joder, was the moderator of this first session, having been one of the leaders in its organization.

In May, 1866, from the 20th to the 22d, the conference was convened in Illinois, on the farm of John Strubhar, about four miles west of the present town of Carlock. The records of this conference do not

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[22] This is true, not merely of the effect of this poem, but at that time, of all the poet's writings, and is in harmony with the opinion of Milo P. Lantz, who is making a thorough study of these poems, in tracing the author's evolving religious views.

[23] In letter of April 18, 1929.

mention the name of Schoolmaster Joder, but there is an interesting collateral report of the conference, which does speak of him. The tradition—for it may be naught but that—is that a New York newspaper correspondent covered the conference and characterized the people as "a very simple, plain and illiterate people," but with one notable, outstanding man among them, a self-educated man, a Greek and Latin scholar and a writer of poetry, both German and English; in short a man in advance of the times, particularly of the people with whom he was connected. The report of the reporter's story[24] may be overdrawn, but if it be more than mere tradition, it is quite erroneous at one point—in characterizing the people as "illiterate."

About the time of the appearance of the poem, *Die Frohe Botschaft,* and upon the death of the author's brother, Reverend Yoder, 1869, the Rock Creek Church had secured a new pastor in the person of Reverend Joseph Stuckey, just come from Ohio. He was a strong man, of keen mind as well as a successful farmer, broad minded and quite liberal. Just as the new doctrine was finding acceptance among the people, it was likewise courted by the pastor, but right there is where his troubles began, not only because of his own liberal views, but because he stood by his poet layman, who was the target of the shafts of the disturbed bishops. Concerning this crisis over the new doctrine, I quote from a history of the Mennonite communion by Dr. C. Henry Smith, in which he says:

"At this time a certain Joseph Joder, a member of the Stuckey congregation, a school teacher and a dabbler in verses, wrote a long poem under the title of *Die Frohe Botschaft.* The leading thought of this poem was that all men will be saved eternally and none punished for their sins. This sentiment was rank heresy among the Mennonites and naturally aroused a great deal of resentment."[25]

In this statement, the author, betrays his lack of a full knowledge of the issue and particularly the place of the chief factor in this religious controversy; however, it cannot be wondered at for the author of the objectionable poem and his place were studiously ignored and obliterated by the orthodox leaders. Doubtless, were Dr. Smith to revise his history he would not speak of "a certain" Joseph Joder, nor characterize him as "a dabbler in verses."

A more accurate account with a clearer grasp of the significance of Joseph Joder's contribution is found in a volume by Reverend William B. Weaver of Bloomington, Illinois, who says:

"Mr. Joder was eccentric in his ways and very liberal in his religious views. He was somewhat of a genius for his day. Although having had very little schooling, he mastered Greek and Latin after he was forty and also began the study of Hebrew. He was a Bible student, but his interpretation of the Scriptures did not always correspond with that of the interpretation of the church. He was a poet and began to express his religious views in various poems he wrote. One of them which caused a great deal of disturbance was *Die Frohe Botschaft,* in which he upheld the idea of universal salvation. Mr. Joder reached his conclusions largely through his interpretation of the love of God. A great deal of emphasis in his day was placed on

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[24] The writer, with assistance by others, has thus far failed to find this reported story in any of the New York papers examined, though not all have yet been checked up.

[25] Smith, History of the Mennonites of America, p. 248.

the wrath of God and the eternal punishment of sinners. This was often over-emphasized by the church which naturally minimized the love of God.

"From a study of Mr. Joder's religious poems, particularly *Die Frohe Botschaft*, it must be concluded that he was trying to break from the extreme position on the wrath of God and in his emphasis on the love of God swung to the other extreme that all shall be saved. He undoubtedly was very much misunderstood by those who interpreted his poetry. This particular poem, mentioned above, found its way into the hands of the Mennonite bishops."[26]

The issue raised by this objectionable poem came to a crisis at the General Conference of Mennonites in 1870, meeting in Fulton County, Ohio, when after a long discussion it was voted that those members who persist in spreading such doctrines, after being warned, should be expelled. But that, after all, was a matter that was in the hands of the pastor or bishop of the congregation, and, in this case, Reverend Stuckey refused to expel his parishioner, author of the poem. At the annual conference, held in 1871 at Meadows, Livingston County, Illinois, a committee was appointed to investigate the whole matter and report at the next conference. Then at that conference in 1872, held in Legrange County, Indiana, the committee made a rather vague report on the attitude of Reverend Stuckey, the conference endeavoring to extort from him some sort of public confession or disavowal, but did not succeed. The poem under fire came up in the discussions, and after publicly reading several of the most objectionable verses, the conference voted to place under the ban all persons who expressed adherence to the views. A special committee again waited on Reverend Stuckey in October, 1872, and upon his declaring that he regarded Mr. Joder as a brother in the church, he was informed that the General Conference would be obliged to withdraw from him and his congregation.

While the controversy was sizzling the old Rock Creek Church swarmed, dividing into two separate congregations, more or less geographically, but also theologically, although with feelings of mutual good will. Each group, upon abandoning the old location, built a new "meeting house." Rev. Stuckey became the minister of the one located to the south and east near Danvers and known as the North Danvers Church, which was dedicated in the autumn of that year, 1872. The heretic poet, still in good standing in the local church, was requested by Rev. Stuckey to write the dedicatory hymn, which he did, producing in German, *Kirchweih Hymne.* He had previously written several hymns of merit, not all of which, however, had been accepted by the bishops.

In the meantime the decree of the General Conference, a sort of medieval interdict, went forth, most of the churches ratifying it. The North Danvers Church, hoping that the wave of opposition to the poet layman would gradually dissolve, ignored the action. Later, however, under unrelenting pressure and after his congregation had been ousted from the conference, 1873, Reverend Stuckey, the bishop-pastor, did yield to the extent of "setting back" from communion the disturbing member, Mr. Joder, but without expelling him from the church. After communion had been denied him, even though not formally expelled,

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[26] Weaver, History of the Central Conference of Mennonites, p. 96.

Mr. Joder absented himself entirely from attendance at church services, since he regarded such action as virtual expulsion and wholly unwarranted. The fact is that he was not a member in good standing and full fellowship and no longer so regarded. He thereafter continued, unruffled and without bitterness, his accustomed religious life in the privacy of his home and his study with relatives and friends.

He applied himself to the study of the Scriptures, perhaps as never before, and continued writing, producing numerous poems and one really notable prose work, 1873, on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. It was written in German under the title *Exegese,* and published in a pamphlet of thirteen pages, of which there are but few extant copies.[27] By this time the author had come to be regarded as a heretic, thus a man to be shunned, and many people who may have had copies of this pamphlet, or even of his poems, were rather prone to rid themselves of such questionable writings.

But Joseph Joder was interested in many things. He saw far, and with wide vision and a firm grasp he caught the spirit of progress and gloried in human achievement.

Joseph Joder always manifested a keen interest in public affairs. He followed politics thoughtfully, never failing to exercise his right and what he considered his duty as a citizen at the ballot box. He early became a follower of Henry Clay, that somewhat erratic though popular idol of the West. He was an ardent Whig, although less a compromiser on the slavery issue than the leadership or even generality of his party. Soon after the Douglas "squatter sovereignty" policy had crystallized into the famous Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854, he joined with the anti-slavery Whigs and Freesoilers in the opposition movement launched by the Independent Democrats, and named the Republican party. He was long an admirer and became a strong supporter of Lincoln, quoting from his startling house-divided speech, in an article written at the close of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and before the election of that year, 1858. Let him here speak for himself. He had just been writing his impressions of that great achievement, the laying of the Atlantic cable, and abruptly changed to the subject of politics, as follows:

". . . When we turn our attention to the politics of our country, we find strife and contention all around us.

"Politically this nation is divided against itself; and a house divided against itself cannot stand. The institution of slavery, which caused so much excitement, is now occupying the public mind. This is the issue between the two antagonistic elements of the American nation. The Southern states in which slavery exists are seeking to extend that dire institution beyond its present limits, while the free North are trying to prohibit that abomination. It is the duty of good citizens to take an active part in this contest. A contest in which are involved the greatest issues, and upon which the American people are now looking with a degree of interest heretofore unparalleled in the history of our country. A contest in which are struggling the greatest doctrines of the National Government. A contest which must soon come to a focus and be decided for better or for worse by the people of the nation. Then let every freedom-loving citizen come forward to the ballot-box and silently decide in favor of freedom."[28]

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[27] A copy of *Exegese* is in the possession of Milo P. Lantz.

[28] Scrap Book, p. 3.

After this senatorial campaign, 1858, his love for the Union, his glowing patriotism burst forth in rare charm, rising to the purest of poetry and the loftiest patriotic devotion. The poem, *Hail Our Country's Natal Morn,* was written for a Fourth of July celebration, 1859, and read by the author at Stout's Grove,[29] near Danvers, Illinois. It is a short poem of four eight-line stanzas and is given here in full:

Hail our country's natal morn,
Hail our spreading kindred born,
Hail the banner not yet torn,
Waving o'er the free.
While this day in festal throng,
Millions swell the patriot's song,
Shall not we thy notes prolong,
Hallowed Jubilee.

Who would sever freedom's shrine,
Who would draw the invidious line
Though by birth one spot be mine,
Dear is all the rest;
Dear to me the South's fair land,
Dear the central, mountain band.
Dear New England's rocky strand.
Dear the prairied West.

By our altars pure and free,
By our law's deep-rooted tree,
By the past's dear memory,
By our Washington,
By our common parent tongue,
By our hopes bright, buoyant, young,
By the ties of country strong,
We will still be one.

Fathers, have you bled in vain,
Ages, must you droop again,
Maker, shall we rashly strain,
Blessings sent by Thee,
Not receive our solemn vow,
While before Thy throne we bow,
Ever to us now,
Union, Liberty!

When the war finally came, Grandfather Joder, while not particularly active with his pen, followed the raging currents of the conflict with concern for the Union. The section of the State where he lived was positively loyal, although there were a few who directly or indirectly sided with the South. Some there were of southern birth and sympathy, a few indeed were suspected of being disguised "copperheads." On one occasion he drove by the home of one of these men, a neighbor, and found him erecting a small building. Drawing up to the fence, he brought his horse to a sudden stop with his customary "Whoa!" and opened up on the neighbor thus: "Good morning, Brother C.! What are you building?" The reply was, "A house to put copperheads in." "You had better get in yourself!" and with a "Gid-dap!" was off.[30]

Mr. Joder had a profound respect for law and demanded a high standard of moral obligation, through the people, on the part of the

[29] Scrap Book, p. 139.
[30] Recollections of Milo P. Lantz—Letter of February 26, 1929.

government. He believed that all should share in political responsibility and privilege, and to that end favored the enlarging rights of women, even woman suffrage, yet he was grounded in the old fashioned beliefs concerning the "sphere" of woman. This is subtly, or perhaps naively, betrayed in a poem he wrote for a girl[31] in the community, the youngest of a family of four daughters, all of whom became rural school teachers, greatly to his satisfaction. The first four stanzas of the short poem, styled *To a Little Girl,*[32] read thus:

"Little girls should high aspire
Useful knowledge to acquire—
They should practice all the graces,
Cheerful mien and smiling faces.

They should little fingers drill,
Subdue the temper, curb the will;
Train their minds to sweet submission,
For the nobler acquisition.

Domestic duties are their sphere,
The minor graces should be there,
The love of God before their eyes,
To make them cautious, prudent, wise.

Thus grow in virtue, grace and age,
Combine the matron and the sage,
Adorn their station, rank and sphere,
A blessing, blest and ever dear."

Here, then, we see he urges upon girls the acquisition of knowledge and all that goes with learning; but besides, the fingers must be drilled, since "domestic duties" constitute woman's sphere. The ultimate is the happy combination of matron and sage.

In a poem, a discursive couplet written in the '70's, the author, in discussing some of the social problems, speaks of "this fast age," of the "social convulsions," but endorses one of the changes just appearing, woman suffrage, and then launches a broadside attack on the saloon and its trail of iniquity. The poem, a voluntary contribution, was written to and published in the *Bloomington Leader.* After a few playful, introductory lines, he says:

"You know Mr. Leader, that in this fast age,
Much is transpiring to puzzle the sage;
Old tyrannies, customs and creeds must decay;
As virtue and truth, Light and Love show the way.
These social convulsions must cause some alarm,
To wake up the sleepers, but not to do harm.
A few of the questions which now agitate
The drones of the past, we will briefly relate."

and as to woman suffrage, he concludes that,

"This question of franchise, so plain at first sight,
Now's yielded to ladies as proper and right."

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[31] That little girl is Miss Cornelia ("Nelie") McGavack, a teacher, residing in Normal, Illinois, and is the possessor of the original manuscript poem.

[32] Later the author sent a copy of the poem to the Bloomington Pantagraph for publication, with this note: "Messrs. Editors: If you have a Youth's Department in your Hebdomadary, the following lines to a little girl are at your services." Scrap Book, p. 88.

which, come to think of it, was said by this old liberal some forty or fifty years before the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The author was a bitter foe of the saloon. In this same poem he laments the presence of the saloon, scores the license system, and takes Bloomington frankly to task for fostering the evil in its midst. He decries drunkenness, the accompanying poverty and degradation, and ridicules the inconsistency of enticing people for a price and then punishing them for the consequences. Says he:

"The city authorities may enact laws,
Preventing this evil, destroying its cause:
And if they neglect, there will come a day
When duties neglected will clambor for pay.
Now Bloomington, if you'll listen, please do;
We'll read a short lecture on morals to you."

This is followed by a scathing denunciation and rebuke for tolerating the saloon.

"This privilege the city sells,
And legalizes local hells,
For paltry gain that may accrue,
To swell the city revenue.
You make minions liquor venders,
But the quaffers are offenders;
From the road of duty swerving,
Further notice undeserving.
You put temptation in the way,
Then punish those who go astray;
And if the tippler, in his potion,
Happens to lose locomotion—
Or if, perchance he takes a snooze,
You put him in the calaboose,
Leaving there the simple toper,
Until fasting makes him sober—
Then to a magistrate him hale,
To pay a fine or go to jail.
The wife and children thus bereft,
Meanwhile are forced to want or theft.
This in a sane community
Is a burning inconsistency.
* * * * * * *
Licensed creatures dole out brandy,
Keep a noisome Devil's shanty—
There for dimes and souls to barter,
And the city grants the charter."

Grandfather Joder had an active, inquiring mind. He was interested in many things besides language, education and religion. He did not go far in other fields of study, but he was profoundly impressed with the range of human progress, especially in harnessing the physical forces, and particularly in the great advance made in mechanical invention. He left an appraisement of the laying of the Atlantic cable,[33] written in October, 1858, just after its successful accomplishment and before it soon thereafter ceased to work for a couple of years. To us

[33] Scrap Book, pp. 1-2.

of today it sounds a bit extravagant, for, said our interpreter, relative to the great triumph:

"The great work of the nineteenth century is fully and finally completed. The first verbal messages have passed from continent to continent along the slender thread of the Atlantic Cable. The heads of the two great nations of the earth have exchanged kindly greetings through the medium of the most wonderful of all the mighty achievements of the human intellect in modern times.

Deep down in the impenetrable depths, in the silent and sunless retreats of the ocean—there no fin beats the solitary waters, and where the feathery shell of the dead mollusk lies undisturbed by wave of current, while a thousand fathoms above, the storm is abroad in its might, and the great ships are tossing like feathers over the mountain of waters, and 'melting into the yeast of waves,' there has been whispered the greetings of the Old World and the New, and there has been the interchange of familiar speech of nations whose farthest outposts are vastly separated, and two thousand miles of rolling sea intervene * * * Never perhaps has any one event stirred the hearts and kindled the eyes of so many people, with such pure and unselfish joy and exultation. Never, surely has any event been hailed with such widespread and simultaneous rejoicing so quickly after its occurrence."

Joseph Joder's studies in mathematics and mechanics led him step by step into the slippery field of invention. Like the medieval alchemists, seeking the elixir of life, he was after the long-sought mechanical elixir. It was some time in the late '60's and early '70's that he became an enthusiast in the recurring craze for "perpetual motion." After studying somewhat and pondering the idea, he became convinced that it was possible and ere long would be realized. Why could not he be the inventor and reap the certain reward?

He set to work on the project with zest, paid out for having the necessary parts made, all the money he could obtain, for the most part reluctantly advanced by his daughter, housekeeper and home-maker until finally the contrivance was ready to try out—or start. It consisted roughly of a wooden plank, 2 x 6 inches, with two large wheels, one stationary on the large upright plank, the other capable of moving up and down on the upright beam of the frame, parallel to the main beam. Between the two wheels was a small wheel to operate on the surface of the two large wheels, the movable wheel to be started and controlled by a system of weights, which once started by an operating lever were supposed to keep the works going.[34] But when ready to set the machine in motion, that which worked so perfectly and wondrously in thought refused to function; it became inextricably locked, requiring a crowbar to pry it loose. Sorely disappointed, our poet-inventor silently accepted defeat.

He had, however, worked out his mechanism to such a fine point that he just missed the accidental invention or discovery of a new mechanical application. The principle which he employed in his mechanism was grasped by another, one who had made for him the various parts for his machine. This Bloomington man soon thereafter secured a patent on what was known as "centripetal power," an attach-

[34] Description accompanied by a drawing from memory by Milo P. Lantz —Letter of April 14, 1929. A similar description is also given by Joseph J. Clark, grandson, of Lewiston, Idaho—Letter of February 26, 1929.

ment for developing power in the operation of various machines. "It was very evident," says one of his grandsons[35] and an eye witness, "that this principle was taken from grandfather's model, but he wasn't studying for power, his was perpetual motion." Tradition says that the inventor received $10,000 for his invention, which at that time was considered a snug fortune.

About this time, in his old age, Joseph Joder took up another side line, partly to amuse himself, partly to satisfy a felt need for change in his simple daily routine, less I take it, with any thought of increasing his earning power. He purchased a small knitting machine and for several years operated it, knitting socks, mittens, etc., for relatives or friends and neighbors. From this work he got the necessary recreation, which in turn gave him greater energy in his studies and the writing of his reflections. He was doubtless as much of a misfit in the field of mechanics as he was at home in his domain of the linguistic and the literary.

Joseph Joder was an out-of-the-ordinary, common man. His characteristics and traits, his peculiarities and talents were not new nor strange. All things that marked him were found in other persons, but not all in one person. Thus he was an unusual man; a marked man and attracted notice.

He was a large man physically, tall—six feet, two inches, when in his prime—rough-boned and lank, loosely put together, with long arms and legs and big feet. He was not robust, but a man of strength with an iron constitution, never sick.

In habits, he was abstemious; rigidly temperate. He was not gluttonous, although he did not simply eat to live, for he was a good liver—he always enjoyed a good table. His one indulgence was smoking. In his old age, he at times "swore off," vowed he would quit, what he regarded as a bad habit, and threw his pipe as far as he could throw it; but he always managed to remember just where he had thrown it[36] and without apologies resumed smoking.

He dressed plainly. Until old, he wore "home-made" clothes and only in later years did he resort to "store" clothes or "hand-me-downs," even then the creases were first carefully ironed out before putting them on. His daughter, Mary, was not only a school teacher but also a seamstress, making suits for him and his numerous grandsons. While he was reared in the hook-and-eye age of his religious faith, he early discarded the peculiar superstition that the Lord had decreed a certain style of dress, and took to buttons. Until old age, however, until he began wearing the custom made suits, he wore the trousers without the buttoned vent, continuing the old-fashioned drop front. He always wore the plain white muslin shirts, the only adornment being the long, wide, well-worn, black tie-band under the wide, turnover attached collar. His hat was neither "stove-pipe" nor derby, but an old-fashioned, high, full-crown hat—one hat serving for many years—with a home-made straw of similar style for the two hot months of the summer. Without

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[35] Benjamin Clark of Hubbell, Nebraska—Letter of February 11, 1929.

[36] Recollections of Mrs. Maud Lantz Maginnis, great-granddaughter, Lakeland, Fla.—Letter of Feb. 5th, 1929.

vanity, without fastidiousness, his wants were few, his thoughts were his interest—plain living and high thinking may truly be applied to Joseph Joder, thinker, linguist, and poet.

Grandfather Joder never played; life was too serious a thing for that, besides play was for children and only then during the early childhood years. He lived severely yet calmly and serenely; he was stern but not unkind in intent. His countenance was rather solemn and although he laughed, he was not given to laughter. He saw the humorous side of things, yet with him it was in the depths of his thoughts, the humor of inexcusable error, of willful ignorance. Given to thinking, life to him presented many vital problems for solution and he had an ambition to solve human problems, to correct human error.

He had few intimates in life, yet there were many who regarded him with high esteem, or at any rate as a man to be esteemed. He was regarded as an eccentric, for what boots it if here's a man with an occupied mind and facile pen, who lives in the realm of ideas and yet has not accumulated a great competence of this world's goods—an impractical visionary! Probably his closest friend was Rev. Ben Eicher of Washington, Iowa, pastor of a church there and Bishop of the Mennonite churches of Iowa, with whom he corresponded for many years, and who died about seven years after Mr. Joder. Their chief interest was in religion, in religious disputation, in which, however, they were in harmony, kindred spirits.[37] This correspondence, it appears, has been destroyed, because of lack of interest and want of understanding.

Many shunned Grandfather Joder and shunted his intellectual contributions. His grandchildren, even, and many others somewhat avoided him, for the reason that he was always putting them to the test, finding out how little they knew.[38] He sought for their answers in grammar, speech, language, etc., etc., often to their embarrassment. "Can you read this" (or that)? was the question put to many youngsters wherever met. One of his passions was urging the young generation to learn to read German. When an impromptu test was satisfactory, his face

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[37] Says Edwin O. Ropp, of Normal, Ill.:

"The stories I have heard of 'Schul-Meister' (Schoolmaster Joder) have always interested me. In one of the old letters (of Joseph Joder to Rev. Eicher, dated, Oak Grove, Ill., Mar. 6th, 1885) he deplores belief in that 'beacon of terror (endless woe)' and closes a very beautiful communication with these patriarchal lines:

'My sight is dim, my hearing dull,
My eyes are eighty-seven, full,
I am waiting for the Master's call,
May God have mercy on us all.'

disclosing, as it seems to me, a very beautiful state of mind for any 'Schul-Meister' to be in while rounding out his eighty-seventh year."—Letter to the writer, Mar. 15, 1929.

[38] Says a grandson of him:

"He was a great soul. His greatness increases with the years since his passing, for he was far ahead of his day. I remember him as very stern—don't know that he ever laughed— and was always wanting to know how much I knew. I, of course, a mere boy, knew very little of grandfather; I was always in fear of him, because he was always wanting us—Ike and me—to say the German alphabet and other difficult things."—Dr. Abia B. Clark of New York City,—Letter of March 5, 1929.

beamed; when it proved abortive, his remark brought a pang to the heart of the unwilling candidate for linguistic honors.

On one occasion he offered one of his granddaughters, a girl of twelve or fourteen, a new dress if she would learn to read German. The girl accepted the offer and went to work in earnest. After she had acquired what she thought was a fair degree of proficiency, she visited her grandfather in the hope of receiving the reward. When she gave her reading exhibition, he simply laughed, remarking that she had a good deal yet to learn. Discouraged, the young lady terminated her engagement to study German.[39]

At the village of Oak Grove, one day, Mr. Joder entered the drug store and accosted the new proprietor, lately arrived from Pennsylvania, with "Who are you?" Upon being informed his name was Lantz and giving his family connections, the next question was, "Can you read German?" The reply was in the affirmative, and ever thereafter the newcomer stood well in the estimation of the "schoolmaster."[40]

But Grandfather Joder's always wanting to know how much one knew, was interpreted as seeking to find out how little one knew. His gruff manner, doubtless, was more apparent than real; he was blunt rather than gruff. He meant well inwardly, even kindly, but was right out with his thoughts, using no tact in his approach. Hence, although he was respected and esteemed, he was likewise feared and an intimate acquaintance, by the generality, was not cultivated.

He always rode in an open buggy, driving a trusty, bay mare, and none but a trusty would do, for he driving along, in case of rain or a hot sun, with a great umbrella in one hand and lines in the other, his thoughts could travel where they would. He always hurried his horse over the rough or muddy places on the road, for the reason as he himself said, that he didn't like such traveling; then on smooth road, he allowed his horse to jog along more leisurely.[41]

Generous to a fault, often forgetful of himself, he bestowed unusual kindnesses on total strangers. On one occasion, going over the familiar White Oak road on his way to Bloomington, with umbrella up to shield him from a light rain, he met a woman walking without an umbrella. He stopped, forced his umbrella upon her, and heedless of the rain went on his way to town. Weeks afterwards on going that way again, he was hailed by the same woman, running from her front door to the road to return the umbrella. He had missed his umbrella, but had forgotten the circumstance until thus reminded of it.[42]

His long period of retirement Joseph Joder devoted to reading and writing. He was a great reader in his limited field. He read few books

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[39] Mrs. Francis Yoder Knapple, Lexington, Nebraska,—letter of February 9th, 1929.

[40] Mrs. Lydia M. Lantz, whose husband was the young man—the late John K. Lantz—Cove, Oregon,—letter of February 5th, 1929.

[41] Recollections of Mrs. Maud Lantz Maginnis and Mrs. Frances Yoder Knapple—cited before.

[42] Recollections of Mrs. Kate Yoder Burns, Lexington, Nebraska,—Letter of February 3, 1929.

and magazines, confining himself largely to his few technical books and the Bible, which was also pretty much of a technical book to him, and also reading certain religious journals and always the Bloomington newspapers. For many years, until enfeebled by old age, which finally prevented his driving alone, he went twice a week, as regularly as the clock, to the village of Oak Grove for his mail. His mail usually consisted of a letter or two, but not always, of several religious journals, *The Herald of Truth* among them, and the inevitable *Leader* and the *Pantagraph.*

Oak Grove was on a short star route mail line from Bloomington to Stabtown, a distance of about twenty miles. The carrier packed the mail pouch on horseback or by a two-wheeled cart, popular in that day. The round trip was made every other day, hence people got their mail three times a week, whereas a few years before the mail was carried bi-weekly by one of the two retail merchandise stores.

For twenty-five years Grandfather Joder was a familiar figure on this stretch of highway three miles southwest of Oak Grove, a tall man with a high hat, driving a trusty bay mare. Here let a young eye witness and neighbor describe and characterize him going for his mail, the mail having come in the night before:

"The next morning, just as regularly, if the weather was fair, he passed my home driving the horse hitched to the open buggy, his left foot resting on the step of the buggy, his left hand holding the reins, his right hand holding his long cane at the end of his long arm. The horse was a trusty one and needed but little attention. Here was the passenger in deep study, and every once in a while, his arm and cane always extended, he would punctuate his thought by using his arm and cane with a downward gesture of finality. This picture so often seen on the half mile of highway visible, and continued during the years when this scene was re-enacted, became firmly drilled into me never to be forgotten.[43]

Upon reaching the village he went straight to the post office, greeting few people, even those with a formal statement or a specific question. He procured his coveted mail and out again ready for the return trip, when with a "Now fly!" to his horse, he was away on a moderate trot until he reached home, where in the sanctity of his study he began the devouring of his prey. On Sundays he read no "secular" papers, nothing but the Bible, which to him was the perfect book; and if read in his way it was the authoritative guide.

His latch string was always out to guests and the one room occupied by him was his study, drawing room and bedroom combined. Visitors, however, had to be able to enter into discussion, either in the field of his choice or acquaintance, not necessarily to agree, or in some field of their interest which might perchance help to broaden his own range of thought. But woe unto him who had nothing to contribute, who was neither a good listener nor an intelligent disputant. His blunt query or incisive statement soon found the measure of stranger or acquaintance.

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[43] Milo P. Lantz, Carlock, Illinois,—Letter of February 26, 1929.

To many his life appeared dull and narrow. His, however, was a life in communion with ideas rather than in the mingling of people. He never loafed, nor did he participate in the larger social relations of the people. Doubtless he missed much in life; but he never lost his interest in learning and in the rising generation. One of his few diversions was in occasionally visiting a school in the neighborhood. His was the mind of the scholar; he had a passion for knowledge. Although his contribution was small, his thought and spirit were in tune with the universal. The third generation is coming to know him and to appreciate his contribution.

THE STORMY YEARS OF THE SWEDISH COLONY IN CHICAGO BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

By George M. Stephenson

Chicago, the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley, is also the metropolis of Swedish-America. When the vanguard of the mighty host of Swedish immigrants arrived, the city was not only without the towering skyscrapers that in later years awed the newcomers and furnished the text for countless letters that thrilled readers back in Sweden, but it could not even boast of a railway. The destiny of the sprawling prairie town, however, could not be denied, and within a remarkably short time its population took that cosmopolitan character which has made Chicago a cause of both wonder and despair. At the time the great fire laid a large part of the city in ashes, a considerable colony of Swedes had grown up mainly on the North Side, bounded by Division Street on the north, Indiana Street on the south, the Chicago River on the west, and Wells Street on the east. It was in this district that the first Swedish churches were built, the first Swedish societies were organized, and the first Swedish newspapers were established.[1]

It does not lie within the province of this paper to relate the early history of the Swedes in Chicago, but it is pertinent to call attention to the circumstances that brought them there. Although there were individual Swedes scattered between the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi River, and a few colonies had taken their beginnings in the East, the great bulk of the immigrants who arrived before the Civil War had their hearts set on the Mississippi Valley. In the newspapers of Sweden they had read almost fabulous letters written by Gustaf Unonius and the Friman brothers in Wisconsin and by Peter Cassel in Iowa; and by the middle of the decade of the fifties the citizens of Chicago witnessed the almost daily spectacle of parties of bewildered, weary, and sick immigrants passing through the city en route to Bishop Hill, Andover, Rock Island, Moline, Galesburg, and other points in Illinois, and to Iowa and Minnesota.[2] These groups traveled via the Hudson River-Erie Canal-Great Lakes route to Chicago, thence on the Illinois Canal to Peru, and west of this point overland, sometimes on foot and sometimes by wagon. Naturally, a certain percentage of these travelers remained in Chicago to grow up with the city, either from choice or from necessity.

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[1] E. H. Thörnberg, *Lefnadsstandard och sparkraft med särskild hänsyn till den svenska befolkningen i Chicago* (Broschyrer utgifna af Nationalföreningen mot emigrationen, No. 8. Stockholm, 1915), pp. 26-27.

[2] See George M. Stephenson, "Documents relating to Peter Cassel and the Settlement in New Sweden, Iowa," in *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, February, 1929, with citations.

In common with the other immigrant stocks, the Swedes have had their fair share of sturdy, industrious, and law-abiding citizens; but tickets to America could also be purchased by adventurers and scoundrels, who were no credit to their native land and contributed nothing but sorrow and humiliation to themselves and to their countrymen in the New World. Chicago, being the clearing house of immigration, received more than its share of such persons. A visitor to that part of the city where the Swedes were concentrated heard Swedish spoken on the streets; and if he patronized the saloons he would rub elbows with the sons of Swedish farmers, who preferred to lay pavements on the streets of Chicago rather than to shock oats in the blazing sun. They speedily learned to carouse, play cards, and shake dice in true Chicago style.[3] Johan A. Enander, for over a generation editor of a Swedish newspaper in Chicago, wrote that a number of bogus aristocrats living a Bohemian life misrepresented the Swedish cultured class, and that drunkards, swearers, and fighters misrepresented the common people.[4] There was also a sprinkling of black sheep, who had been sent to America to reform. Fortunately, these elements constituted a very small minority, but they were infinitely malignant and furnished a problem for the respectable majority. With thousands of immigrants pouring into the city, Chicago was a paradise for runners, sharks, and agents, representing wild cat organizations and speaking the languages of their victims. In 1868 about 30,000 Swedes passed through or stopped in Chicago, and it requires but little imagination to see myriads of runners grabbing their baggage, "spieling" for disreputable hotels, cheating them at exchange, and selling them tickets to false destinations.

The character of the population of the Swedish colony was prolific of various points of view and factions. Broadly speaking, there were two elements: the churchly and the non-churchly, not to say anti-churchly, just as there are in every community. Neither faction had a monopoly of saints or sinners, although many of them expressed a preference. In this case, as in many others, prudence demands the employment of a terminology not too meticulous.

The first Swedish congregation was organized by Gustaf Unonius in 1849, although in the first years of its existence it numbered both Swedes and Norwegians among its members. Unonius immigrated to America in 1841, and after trying his hand at farming in Wisconsin for a few years, became a minister in the Episcopal Church. With the exception of a brief interval, when he visited his native land, he served as pastor of St. Ansgarius Church until 1858, when he returned to Sweden. The congregation was without a regular pastor until 1862, when the Rev. Jacob Bredberg began a long pastorate. It will be noted that, although the doctrine and liturgy of the Swedish Lutheran Church was adopted, the pastor was required to be a member of the Protestant

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[3] Correspondence of Isidor Kjellberg to *Göteborgs-Posten*, printed in *Minnesota Tidning* (St. Paul), June 9, 1870; [P. J. Bladh], *Bland bättre folk och pack "i det förlofvade landet." Svensk-Amerikanska skisser af en hemkommen* (Stockholm, 1871), p. 87.

[4] Joh. A. Enander, "Chicagos brand. Ett 30-årigt minne," in *Vintersol. Illustrerad kalender* (Stockholm), 1901, pp. 139-158.

Episcopal Diocese of Illinois.[5] Unonius was a staunch believer in the doctrine of the apostolic succession, and for this reason would not affiliate with any of the American Lutheran synods. He therefore considered St. Ansgarius congregation a branch or true representative of the Swedish State Church, and thereby hangs a tale that will be related as our story unfolds. With the arrival of Swedish Lutheran pastors from Sweden and the organization of Swedish Lutheran congregations, Unonius was looked upon by them as a proselyter and a traitor to Lutheranism. The controversy grew so hot that Unonius sued one of the most prominent Swedish Lutheran pastors for slander. Even at the ripe age of eighty-six, when he was living in retirement in Sweden, after reading Erik Norelius' History of the Swedes in America, Unonius was fired to publish a bitter phillipic against the Lutheran Augustana Synod, which at that time embraced all but a few of the Swedish Lutheran churches. The controversy between the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Augustana Synod, which continues down to the present, took its beginnings in Chicago before the Civil War.[6]

Before the organization of the Immanuel congregation in January, 1853, the Swedes in Chicago were without a Swedish Lutheran Church, although Paul Andersen, the pastor of a Norwegian Lutheran congregation, found time among his multitudinous duties to minister to needy immigrants. When the Rev. Erland Carlsson, upon his arrival from Sweden in 1853, assumed the pastorate of the Immanuel Church in the late summer of that year, the Swedes quickly learned that they had a most faithful and aggressive leader in their midst, a man who could "give," but who found it very difficult to "take." A disciple of pietistic pastors in Sweden, whose example he emulated in word and deed, he became a target for the most bitter attacks of enemies, who sometimes did not scruple to employ weapons more deadly than epithets. Mincing no words in condemning the sins of the community and of individuals, whose names were even mentioned from the pulpit, there were occasions when worldly young men went to Carlson's church for the express purpose of disturbing the services; windows were broken, doors kicked open, and tin pans beaten. Pastor Bredberg, more sparing of the "law" in his sermons, was allowed to conduct his services without interruption.[7]

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[5] For the history of St. Ansgarius church, see Gustaf Unonius, *Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika* (Uppsala, 1861, 1862), Vol. II; E. Norelius, *De svenska luterska församlingarnas och svenskarnes historia i Amerika* (Rock Island, 1890); E. W. Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois* (Chicago, 1908), Vol. I., pp. 412-422.

[6] There is a considerable body of controversial literature on this subject. See, especially, Unonius, *Minnen*, Vol. II., pp. 420-443, 596-602; Unonius, *Bihang till "Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika"* (Stockholm, 1896); E. Norelius, "Svar till G. Unonius på hans 'Bihang till Minnen från en 17-årig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika,'" in *Tidskrift för svensk ev. luth. kyrkohistoria i N. Amerika och för teologiska och kyrkliga frågor* (Rock Island), 1899, pp. 15-51; *Lutheran Observer* (Baltimore), March 28, 1851; the *Missionary* (Pittsburgh), March 15, 1860. In the announcements of its services St. Ansgarius was designated as the "Swedish National Church."—*Svenska Amerikanaren* (Chicago), September 16, 1868.

[7] C. F. Peterson, "Några svenska Chicagominnen," in *Valkyrian* (New York), August, 1899, pp. 407-411.

The political sagacity of the devil is seen at its best, or worst, in controversies between religious organizations; and if he can also levy on the talents of the journalistic profession, he can well afford to take a vacation. No form of warfare taxes the vocabulary of human beings to a greater degree than does a religious squabble, intensified by the rivalry of newspapers. Not to be deprived of a generous portion of the spoils of this kind of warfare, the politicians sometimes enter the fray, and what may have begun as a tempest in a teapot becomes a howling hurricane. This is what happened in the Swedish colony in Chicago in the first two decades of its history.

The Lutherans, being stronger numerically, were first in the field with a newspaper organ. In January, 1855, appeared the first number of *Hemlandet* at Galesburg, edited by the gifted Pastor T. N. Hasselquist, who remained in charge of the paper until December, 1858, when the publication office was moved to Chicago. In that year the ownership of the weekly was taken over by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, an organization owned and controlled by the Mississippi Conference of the Synod of Northern Illinois. *Hemlandet* was both religious and secular, and throughout its existence was the mouthpiece of Swedish Lutheranism, straightlaced in doctrine and morals, and hated by enemies as cordially as it was admired by friends.[8]

Not to be outdone by the Lutherans, the disciples of the murdered Bishop Hill prophet, Eric Janson, embarked on a journalistic adventure about a year and a half after the launching of *Hemlandet*. This paper took the name *Den swenske republikanen i Norra Amerika*. It was started as an enterprise of the leaders of the Bishop Hill colony, but was shortly purchased by Svante Cronsioe, who directed its editorial policies throughout its existence, from July 4, 1856, to July 1, 1858. In January, 1858, Cronsioe migrated with his paper from Galva to Chicago, where, after a precarious financial existence, it survived only six months. Although the editor of *Hemlandet* was gracious enough to print the announcement of the forthcoming publication of this paper,[9] from the very first there was a standing quarrel between the two. Naturally the editor of the older sheet did not relish the competition of the newcomer; and although they sang in harmony the praises of the Republican party, the discord in their religious views made this melody scarcely audible. Cronsioe opened his columns freely to Unonius, Methodists, Baptists, agnostics, and anyone with a grievance against the Lutheran Church. The paper became a veritable Adullam's cave. In publishing a lengthy speech of Lars Johan Hierta, the editor of the

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[8] For a history of this paper, see F. W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. IV. Springfield, 1910); J. A. Enander, "En svensk-amerikansk tidnings 50-års jubileum," in *Prärieblomman* (Rock Island), 1906, pp. 228-248; E. W. Olson, *En bokhandels-historia efter tillgängligakällor tecknad* (Chicago, 1910); E. W. Olson, "Några anteckningar till den svensk-amerikanska förlagsverksamhetens historia," in *Prärieblomman*, 1910, pp. 168-187; C. W. Foss, "The Swedish Lutheran Publication Society," in the *Alumnus* (Rock Island), January, 1893, pp. 98-102. Historical sketches are printed in *Hemlandet*, March 27, 1873, and January 7, 1880.

[9] *Hemlandet*, May 15, 1856.

radical Stockholm daily, *Aftonbladet,* in favor of religious liberty, Cronsioe took occasion to call the attention of *Hemlandet* and the members of the Lutheran Church to it.[10] In fact, the editor took great delight in lifting material from this paper in order to confound his conservative competitor. Unonius in particular welcomed the opportunity to state his case in this free lance sheet. In a series of lengthy articles the Episcopal minister drew up a formidable indictment of the Swedish pastors and defended his own conduct.[11] With the departure of Unonius for Sweden in the spring of 1858, there was no outstanding leader to marshal the Episcopal forces for a time; but it cannot be said that the dove of peace hovered over the Chicago colony.

Although *Hemlandet* had the Chicago field to itself for a few years, its solitary reign was destined to end with the removal of the publication office of the Swedish Methodist paper *Sändebudet* from Rockford to the Garden City, as it was called at that time, in December, 1864. Like *Hemlandet,* this paper was both religious and political; and the editors, while naturally partial to their own church, did not drive partisanship to extremes. But with the appearance of the first number of the "liberal" weekly *Svenska Amerikanaren,* on September 8, 1866, a war to the hilt was inaugurated with the nestor of the Swedish newspapers. Emblazoned on the first page of the newcomer was the slogan: "Freedom, Justice, and Truth," but in dealing with *Hemlandet* justice and truth were sometimes brushed aside in favor of freedom of expression. According to the editorial announcement, it did not claim to be a church paper, but it disclaimed hostility to religion. In other words, it claimed to be non-sectarian. Judging by the communications to the editor, its appearance was cordially welcomed by the anti-religious element, who read with much satisfaction clippings from such radical papers in Sweden as *Aftonbladet* and *Fäderneslandet.* As all genuine Swedish-American papers should be, its Republican orthodoxy was bomb-proof, swallowing whole everything that emanated from Republican headquarters. The political editorials in the rival papers might well have been written by the same pen. During the first six months of its existence *Svenska Amerikanaren* was edited by Hans Mattson, a popular leader of the Swedes in Minnesota, whose political instincts and experience restrained his pen, but his successor, Herman Roos, had neither fear of, nor love for, the "tyranny of the Lutheran pastors."

Hemlandet greeted the appearance of its rival with an editorial bristling with sarcasm and dry humor. The newcomer was printed in Roman type, which inspired the editor of *Hemlandet* to write that in Sweden "it was understood that the peasantry could not read Latin, but in this country it appears that they are more learned." He thought it unlikely that anybody would be frightened away from his paper because it was printed in German type. During the week, however, he

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[10] *Den swenske republikanen,* October 10, 1857.

[11] *Den swenske republikanen,* August 29, 1856, March 6, 13, 20, 27, 1857. *Hemlandet* made no seriatum reply, contenting itself with the statement that it stood by what it had previously stated, namely, that Unonius had received financial support from Americans in order to make the Swedes Episcopalians. See *Hemlandet,* September 25, 1856.

changed his mind, since a part of the next issue of his paper was printed in Roman type.[12] Somewhat later Hasselquist, the founder of *Hemlandet,* expressed the opinion that people ought not to read secular papers.[13]

The second editor of *Svenska Amerikanaren* was Herman Roos, thirty years of age, a man of academic education, a winning personality, and of an influential family in Sweden. Not richly endowed with intellectual gifts, his strength lay in polemics, in making contacts with prominent American politicians, and in wielding a pen with "editorial punch," all too frequently overcharged with treacherous Swedish punch.[14]

A battle royal raged between him and P. A. Sundelius, who succeeded Cervin as editor of *Hemlandet* until the former succeeded Roos as editor of *Svenska Amerikanaren,* when the last named returned to Sweden in hopes of more lucrative employment as an emigration agent.[15] In changing his rôle from an ardent defender of the Swedish Lutheran Church to one in which no words were spared to discredit it, Sundelius achieved one of those "lightning change acts," the secrets of which are known only to the journalistic fraternity, and the readers of both papers witnessed the performance with awe, if not with admiration. In his first editorial he found some little difficulty in explaining his desertion of the Augustana Synod, but, fortunately for editors, the memories of newspaper readers are short. In his new position he found difficulty in agreeing with the owners of the paper, and after about a year he was on the staff of *Nya Verlden,* a paper published at Galva, when his charges against his former masters landed him in the county jail. The Chicago fire prevented his being brought to trial, and after eight months he was again drawing pay checks from the men who had set the officers of the law on his trail.[16] If anything, Sundelius was fonder of personalities than Roos. One of his biographers asserts that he would have made better success as a pedagogue than editor, but this takes no account of the sensibilities of school children.

After the defection of Sundelius John A. Enander was elected to fight the battles of *Hemlandet* and the Augustana Synod with its erstwhile ally. Enander's conservative nature prevented him from blazing new journalistic trails. After three months of fighting he wrote to his friend and spiritual adviser in Sweden, Pastor Peter Wieselgren, airing his troubles. When he was in Sweden, he said, he was in favor of religious freedom, but since coming to America he had had some experience with proselyters and could not rejoice over the enactment of the law by the Swedish *riksdag* granting greater religious toleration. The type of emigrant coming from Sweden in recent years, he asserted, was

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[12] *Hemlandet,* September 11, 1866. At the time the editor was A. R. Cervin.

[13] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* January 16, 1867.

[14] C. F. Peterson, "Herman Roos," in *Valkyrian,* April, 1897, pp. 13-16; Isidor Kjellberg, *Föredrag om Amerika, hållet i Stockholm den 18 Febr. 1882* (Stockholm, 1883), pp. 33-34.

[15] Roos was editor of *Svenska Amerikanaren* from February 13, 1867, to December 7, 1869. Sundelius was editor of *Hemlandet* from July 28, 1868, to December 20, 1869, and of *Svenska Amerikanaren* from December 28, 1869, to December 27, 1870, and September 5, 1871, to April 9, 1873.

[16] C. F. Peterson, "P. A. Sundelius," in *Valkyrian,* October, 1897, pp. 13-15.

lowering the standing of the Swedish nation in the eyes of the Americans.[17] For twenty years Enander was the most prominent layman in the Augustana Synod; and while the pastors did not always accept his ideas, he was always welcome at synodical meetings. His is one of the most distinguished names in the history of Swedish-American journalism. *Hemlandet* was always welcome in Swedish Lutheran parsonages, whereas *Svenska Amerikanaren* was sometimes denounced from pulpits as the mouthpiece of the prince of darkness.[18]

Although Herman Roos' daily life fell far short of the precepts preached from any Chicago pulpit, he was always ready to give aid and comfort to any individual or organization, religious or otherwise, that would assist him in battering down the fortress of what he called the "tranny of the Lutheran pastors." In the columns of his paper, therefore, he dealt as kindly with Pastor Bredberg and St. Ansgarius Church as he berated Pastor Carlsson and Immanuel Church. A splendid opportunity came to him in March, 1867, when Bishop Whitehouse of the Episcopal Church gave a lecture in St. Peter's and St. Paul's Cathedral on his visit to Sweden in the previous summer. Bishop Whitehouse's trip was made in the interest of establishing closer relations between his church and the State Church of Sweden. In the presence of a large audience, which included Pastor Carlsson, the Bishop told about his cordial reception at the hands of the Archbishop and the Swedish clergy, how he communed at the Lord's table with them, and about the arrangement by which the bishops in Sweden were to formulate letters of dismission to emigrants, which assured them of cordial admission into Episcopal Churches in the adopted country. He also stated that the Anglican Church, the Episcopal Church in the United States, and the Swedish State Church were identical, except for differences in their liturgy. A sympathetic account of this meeting duly appeared in *Svenska Amerikanaren.*[19] Hasselquist, the president of the Augustana Synod, was fired to write a communication to *Hemlandet,* attacking the position of the Episcopal Church, stating that his ecclesiastical body had taken a position with reference to theatres, dances, balls, and other worldly amusements that went directly contrary to *Svenska Amerikanaren,* which was using its influence in favor of the Episcopal Church. Roos' reaction to this communication took the form of a four and one half column editorial, embittered with sarcasm, in which he accused the Lutheran clergymen of provoking controversy, and asserted that the Episcopal Church was more akin to the Swedish State Church than was the Augustana Synod, which departed from it in condemning dancing, card playing, and similar innocent amusements.[20]

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[17] J. A. Enander to Wieselgren, March 24, 1870. See C. F. Peterson, "J. A. Enander," in *Valkyrian,* December, 1897, p. 30; Anders Schön, "Dr. Joh. A. Enander," in *Prärieblomman,* 1911, pp. 16-45.

[18] See back page advertisement of *Svenska Amerikanaren* in *Svenska National-Biblioteket* (Chicago), October, 1882.

[19] March 27, 1867.

[20] *Hemlandet,* July 16, 1867; *Svenska Amerikanaren,* July 24, 1867. Under the dates April 6, July 17, 1867, and December 9, 1868, Hasselquist wrote to Wieselgren at Gothenburg with reference to Whitehouse's visit and the attitude of the Swedish clergy.

The foes of the Augustana Synod also enjoyed the fellowship of kindred souls in a social club which was organized in 1857 under the name "Sällskapet Svea." Religion as a topic of discussion was taboo in the society, but the constitution could not prevent the members as individuals from showing a preference, and most of them had one thing in common, namely, antipathy to the Swedish Lutheran Church.[21] One of the prominent members in this organization was Captain O. G. Lange, an original character, very active in Swedish affairs and a good speaker, though given to strange statements. One extraordinarily original thing about him was that he was an ardent Democrat and retained his loyalty to the Democracy to his dying day. He immigrated to America in 1824 and arrived in Chicago in 1838, and was thus reputed to be the first Swede in the city. He moved about considerably, but spent the greater part of his life in the Windy City. His death occurred on July 13, 1893, at the ripe age of eighty-two. In spite of the fact that his wife was Irish and his children could not speak a word of Swedish, Lange was intensely Swedish. In the summer of 1866 he visited Sweden, when he collected some five hundred volumes for the Svea library, in recognition of which he was tendered a banquet. Herman Roos and the *Svenska Amerikanaren* crowd in general were members of the society.[22]

The religious slant of the members of Svea was much in evidence when Chicago's Swedish population was thrilled with anticipation over the visit of the famous Swedish singer, Christina Nilsson, in December, 1870. Pastor Carlsson conceived the idea of turning the popularity of the prima donna to the profit of his new church edifice by arranging a festival, the proceeds of which were to accrue to the building fund. Although a large percentage of the members of his congregation were natives of Småland, the Swedish province that gave Christina Nilsson's melodious voice to the world, the effect of the hyper-evangelical revivals which swept over the same province was to put them in opposition to anything that smacked of worldliness. Was not their celebrated countrywoman an opera singer? Could their church have anything to do with the world? The members of Svea were not asleep and went about arranging a great reception and festival in St. Ansgarius Church. A compromise was finally agreed to, by which a great "national festival" was arranged, but many of the church people would have nothing to do with a program in which the un-churchly element had a part; and the members of Svea shied at the pietistic element. The banquet was an elaborate affair, attended by people of all religious shades, but the pietists left before the grand ball was scheduled, although the enemy press counted among those present certain individuals who did not grace the occasion.[23]

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[21] *Den swenske republikanen*, February 20, 1857.

[22] The facts in this paragraph were taken from the following sources: *Svenska Amerikanaren*, December 18, 1867; *Nerikes Allehanda* (Örebro), February 5, 1868; Isidor Kjellberg's letter from Philadelphia to *Göteborgs-Posten*, January 27, 1870; *Amerikanska Posten* (Stockholm), August 17, 1893; Ernst Skarstedt, *Vagabond och redaktör* (Seattle, 1914), p. 137.

[23] J. A. Enander, "Då Christina Nilsson kom till Chicago," in *Prärieblomman*, 1900, pp. 50-61.

But the end was not yet. The following summer Miss Nilsson returned to Chicago to give two concerts for the benefit of all the Swedish congregations, Augustana College and Theological Seminary, then located at Paxton, and the Svea Society. The latter, however, was allotted only a twelfth part of the net proceeds and in protest refused to accept the niggardly portion.[24] But the affair was eagerly seized upon by a recent recruit in the ranks of the anti-Lutheran journalists of the city in the person of Isidor Kjellberg, who arrived in the United States as a correspondent of a Gothenburg paper, which commissioned him to "write up" the Swedes of the dispersion. From the day he landed to the day he departed this vitriolic journalist never ceased to pour his venom on the Swedish Lutheran pastors, and Carlsson was singled out as his pet victim.

This stormy petrel of journalism, both in America and in Sweden, began life as a workingman and poet, who also found time to teach in a school for workers, Sundays and evenings. Honest, sincere, and able, with an intense hatred of sham and hypocrisy, a champion of the common people, a radical of radicals and a "crank," almost every day of his life he penned a torrent of words against aristocracy and privilege, an incurable habit which landed him in jail in the latter years of his career. People who heard his platform addresses saw a dark, short man with flashing eyes, more like a South German or a Spaniard than a son of the North. He was just as ardent an advocate of temperance, peace, democracy, and humane treatment of animals, as he was a crusader against snobbery, monarchy, clericalism, and beaurocracy.[25] His grave at Linköping in his native land, to which he returned in 1872, is marked with a marble slab, bearing the inscription: "In commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the equal suffrage and own home movement, July 24, 1927." He came to America in the latter part of 1869, impelled, as he said, by the desire to see the world.[26]

The journalistic fraternity very soon became aware of the presence of Isidor Kjellberg in America. His caustic letters about the Swedish Lutheran pastors to *Göteborgs-Posten* soon found echoes across the Atlantic and had the extraordinary effect of uniting, for once, *Hemlandet, Svenska Amerikanaren,* and *Sändebudet* in a defense of Erland Carlsson and other Augustana Synod pastors.[27] Here we have Lutherans, Episcopalians, Methodists, and agnostics lying down side by side. What probably precipitated this curious alignment was the fact that the

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[24] E. W. Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois,* Vol. I., p. 892.

[25] C. F. Peterson, "Isidor Kjellberg," in *Valkyrian,* May, 1897, pp. 33-35; Ernst Skarstedt, *Våra pennfäktare. Lefnads—och käraktärsteckningar öfver svenska-amerikanska tidningsmän, skalder och författare, med porträtter samt talrika utdrag ur den poetiska och humoristiska literaturen* (San Francisco, 1897), pp. 92-93; letter from Kjellberg to *Arbetaren,* printed in *Amerika* (Gothenburg), January 13, 1871.

[26] *Minnesota Tidning* (St. Paul), May 26, 1870.

[27] *Göteborgs-Posten,* March 4, 9, 19, 1870; *Svenska Amerikanaren,* April 5, 1870; *Illinois Swede* (Galva), April 16, 1870, quoting *Sändebudet; Amerika* (Gothenburg), May 5, 1870, containing extracts from *Hemlandet, Svenska Amerikanaren,* and *Sändebudet;* Chicago correspondence to *Öresunds-Posten* (Hälsingborg), May 10, 1870.

dextrous writer from across the water trained his guns not only on Carlsson, but took deliberate aim at certain individuals, journalists included, who were involved in the nefarious business of exploiting thousands of Swedish immigrants who passed through Chicago. To admit that Kjellberg was telling the truth about Carlsson might be construed as an admission that he was not entirely unreliable in the case of other individuals. For some reason Kjellberg had a special animus towards *Svenska Amerikanaren.* The editor of this paper found the cause in the alleged fact that Kjellberg was disappointed in not securing the editorship of it, a charge that the latter denied.[28]

During the first six months of his sojourn in America, Kjellberg was foot-loose, following the scent of his nose for news wherever it led him. He finally anchored himself in St. Paul, where in May, 1870, he became editor of *Minnesota Tidning.* In his editorial salutatory he stated that it did not follow that because he had made certain criticisms about Swedish-American pastors he was in favor of discontinuing services in the Swedish language; he had merely protested against continuing them longer than necessary. Within two months this paper changed its name to *Svenska Monitören,* as a sign that hereafter it aspired to a wider circulation outside of the State of Minnesota, in order to serve the liberal element, which, he said, had no champion after Herman Roos resigned as editor of *Svenska Amerikanaren.*[29] Always uncompromising, Kjellberg soon was at outs with the owner of his paper, who saw his income shrinking with the withdrawal of heavy advertising by steamship agencies and land companies, as a protest against Kjellberg's sniping at the radicals in the immigration game. After December 1, 1870, Kjellberg's name ceased to appear on the editorial page; and when he was next heard from, his "hat was in the ring" in Chicago.

Kjellberg's career in Chicago was brief, but what it lacked in length was more than offset in intensity. He came with blood in his eye. He had learned a lesson in St. Paul that he never forgot; henceforth he was to be editor, publisher, and owner, all in one, in order to eliminate all friction between the man who held the purse strings and the man who held the pen. His journalistic venture, which was launched February 25, 1871, was christened *Justitia.* "Give every man his due" was its motto. Marcus Thrane, a Norwegian radical who had spent some years in jail and had been banished from his native land, was one of the contributors and made the wood cuts. As a scandal sheet par excellence, *Justitia* fairly won its spurs. By its enemies—and they were legion—it was called the "bat."[30] If ever an editor feasted on men and events that called forth ridicule, sarcasm, mirth, and vituperation, this thirty-year-old crusader was the man. The appearance of *Justitia* was heralded by an announcement in *Svenska Amerikanaren,*[31] signed by Kjellberg, addressed to Swedish-Americans, stating that he was going to expose emigration runners, and particularly the members of the guild in Chicago. He called upon the Swedes to relate their experiences, in

[28] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* February 15, 1870.
[29] *Minnesota Tidning,* May 26, 1870; *Svenska Monitören,* July 28, 1870.
[30] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* June 20, 1871.
[31] January 10, 1871.

order that he might be fortified with an array of facts. *Justitia's* big game was emigration sharks, but it was also on the trail of Swedish Lutheran preachers. In one of his first letters to the Gothenburg paper he asserted that the men who attended the Augustana Seminary at Paxton left more narrow and intolerant than when they entered, and he could discover no trace of culture in them.[32] In *Justitia* he made merry over the fact that Christina Nilsson gave concerts for the benefit of Swedish Lutheran congregations and Augustana Seminary. Having thus taken the first step in sin by allying themselves with an actress and concert singer, he expected Pastor Carlsson and President Hasselquist to go a step farther and stage plays and balls in their respective communities.[33]

Kjellberg's reputation preceded him to Chicago, and it would be difficult to decide in which camp there was the greatest consternation, whether among the church people, the journalistic profession, or the emigration sharks. Each of these circles had something to expect from him. Sundelius had printed a story to the effect that Kjellberg had absconded from Sweden with the contents of the treasury of the Sunday School at Motala, his native town. In answer to this Kjellberg printed in *Svenska Monitören* an accounting of the books, which showed that when he left there were only about seventeen crowns in the treasury; and when he took up his abode in Chicago, he compelled Sundelius to print in his paper a statement of ten citizens of Motala, testifying to his character and clearing his name of the charge that he was an embezzler.[34] So the back fire that was probably started by emigration agents was effectively smothered.

With the increasing immigration following the close of the Civil War, there was a feeling among the Swedes of Chicago that something ought to be done to protect the immigrants from the chicanery of agents and to make their sojourn in the city more comfortable. When Kjellberg visited Chicago the first time, he was met at the railway station by a whole swarm of runners of different nationalities, who had one word in common, "countryman," hoping to get the immigrants into their nets by this form of salutation. Some of the agents appropriated to themselves the title of "captain," and others pretended to be very religious, inviting their victims to accompany them to religious meetings, where they appeared in the rôle of preachers. Their advertisements promised that interpreters would accompany emigrants from Gothenburg and that agents would meet them at Castle Garden to assist them until they were safely aboard trains en route to their destinations.[35]

By the close of the Civil War this traffic in human flesh had become highly systematized, with agents operating on both sides of the Atlantic. Some of the prominent men in this nefarious business were shady char-

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[32] *Göteborgs-Posten*, March 4, 1870.

[33] *Justitia*, June 24, 1871.

[34] *Svenska Monitören*, December 1, 1870; *Svenska Amerikanaren*, February 21, 1871. See also Hans Mattson's statement in *Minnesota Tidning*, June 30, 1870, and the editor's comment in *Amerika* (Gothenburg), July 28, 1870.

[35] *Minnesota Tidning*, June 9, 1870; *Göteborgs-Posten*, March 4, 1870; correspondence from Chicago to *öresunds-Posten*, April 12, May 10, 1870.

acters, who had transferred their field of operations from Sweden to America. Chicago was the Mecca of such characters, whose lines were laid in newspaper offices, promotion projects of various kinds, and even in churches. Railway companies were parties to fraud, although some of them attempted to lend what protection they could to their passengers, by employing men to guide them through the intricacies of the city, by protecting their baggage, and by recommending certain hotels. Naturally the runners were opposed to these measures and sometimes agents in the employ of the railways were assaulted and their lives threatened.[36] The immigrants received scant aid from the Swedish consuls, some of whom were not only incompetent but disreputable. The Swedish government was aware of this fact, but hesitated to remove them because of the difficulty of securing better men to take their places, since most of the men ambitious for the office were more or less actively interested in emigration projects.[37]

The Swedish residents of Chicago might have done more for their transient countrymen if the rivalry between the factions had not prevented wholehearted co-operation. Upon the initiative of a few men, some of whom were connected with steamship companies and immigration agencies, the Svea Society in 1868 established an emigrant home; but it was opposed by the pastors and *Hemlandet*, who feared that religious work among the immigrants would not be welcomed by the officials of Svea.[38] Competition from this source put life into the slumbering Scandinavian Aid Society, which had been organized in 1866 by Pastors Paul Andersen and Erland Carlsson, together with a number of others, and this organization proceeded to provide a home for emigrants.[39] Foolish rivalry, incompetent management, and opposition from emigration agencies combined to put both homes on the rocks in the spring of 1870, one of the homes passing into the control of a notorious runner.[40] In the meantime the jackals grew bolder as they fattened on their gullible victims.

In order the better to understand the conditions that obtained in the Swedish colony when Kjellberg projected his personality and paper into it, it is necessary to consider at some length the emigration agencies and their activities.

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[36] *Svenska Amerikanaren*, August 7, 1867; [P. J. Bladh], *Bland bättre folk och pack i "det förlofvade landet." Svensk-Amerikanska skisser af en hemkommen*, pp. 49ff.

[37] Dispatch of Baron Wetterstedt, Swedish minister at Washington, to the Swedish foreign office, January 13, 1869 (MS.); Erland Carlsson to Count Piper, Swedish minster at Washington, March 18, 1864 (MS.).

[38] *Svenska Amerikanaren* for 1867 and 1868, especially February 12, September 30, 1868; correspondence from Chicago, *öresunds-Posten*, May 28, 31, 1870; C. F. Peterson "Blickar mellan kulisserna i Chicagos svenska verld för 35 år sedan," in *Valkyrian*, January, 1901, pp. 34-38; Mauritz Rubenson, *Skildringar från Amerika och England, i bref under hösten 1867* (Stockholm, 1868), pp. 47ff.

[39] *Hemlandet*, August 28, 1866; *Svenska Amerikanaren*, September 19, 1866; *Amerika* (Gothenburg), May 5, 1870.

[40] Chicago correspondence to *öresunds-Posten*, May 28, 31, 1870; *Minnesota Tidning*, June 2, 1870; *Amerika*, September 22, 1870.

Perhaps the most powerful and notorious among them was the Swedish Commercial Company, whose interests were multitudinous. It was a steamship agency, exchange bureau, and land office all in one. It was the agent for the Illinois Central Railroad Land Company, the Grand Trunk Railway, a St. Louis plow works, the Continental Fire Insurance Company, and the Mutual Life Insurance Company, and was interested in one or more newspapers. The president of this concern was an American of good repute and character, who took no active interest, but who was used as a tool by the men who conducted the business. The secretary was a certain J. A. Fogelberg, whose real name was John Sandvall, a man who had had a checkered career in Sweden as a newspaper editor and an accountant in a bank. After embezzling a sum of money he fled to America, leaving his wife and children. He cut quite a figure among the Swedes in Chicago, and at the banquet in honor of Christina Nilsson was commissioned to have the first dance with the guest of honor.[41]

The other directing genius was Captain H. A. Burger, a sharp business man and a good mixer, who had mastered the art of gaining the confidence of men, whose influence he could capitalize. He was the Scandinavian agent of the Anchor line and had an army of under-agents both in Sweden and in the United States. Not only was he a heavy advertiser in the newspapers in both countries, but he established a newspaper in Gothenburg, which was appropriately named *Amerika.* The editor of this paper, which bristled with advertisements and "puffs" for emigration agencies, railway companies, and land companies, was C. A. Ekvall, who had misrepresented himself in Chicago and was fortunate enough to establish connections with Fogelberg, who held a club over him by threats to expose his career in Sweden. Captain Burger also probably had connections with another paper published at örebro, named *Amerika-Bladet;* at least he was the agent for it. The editor was Axel Gihl, who had practiced dentistry in Illinois for a few months. In common with the other papers of this type, *Amerika* disclaimed all intention to stimulate emigration, but would strive to be of assistance to emigrants by furnishing reliable information, and it proved its purpose by testifying to the reliability of the Swedish Commercial Company. When in October, 1870, Burger left for Sweden to become the general agent of a steamship company, his admiring Chicago friends presented him with a large and magnificent album.[42]

The most important land and colonization scheme sponsored by Fogelberg and Burger was the Missouri Land Company, of which C. O. Lundberg was president and Fogelberg was secretary. Lundberg was

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[41] *Amerika-Bladet* (Örebro), March 8, 1870; *Amerika* (Gothenburg), January 5, May 12, 1870; *Nya Verlden* (Gothenburg), September 18, 1873; Isidor Kjellberg, *Föredrag om Amerika,* p. 41; [Bladh], *Bland bättre folk och pack,* p. 88; account of John Blegen, a bookkeeper in the employ of the Swedish Commercial Company, in *Justitia,* August 12, 26, 1871.

[42] See samples of advertisements in *Svenska Amerikanaren,* October 5, 1869; *Minnesota Tidning,* January 14, 1870; *Amerika,* March 10, 1870; *Nya Wexjö-Bladet* (Växjö), March 9, 1870; also items in *Amerika-Bladet,* March 8, 1870; *Illinois Swede,* January 8, October 14, 1870; Kjellberg's "exposè" of Ekvall, in *östgöten* (Linköping), September 4, 1875.

one of those honest, idealistic, many-sided, happy-go-lucky individuals, who never make a success of anything. He was interested in music, chemistry, and inventions, and for a time edited a Methodist paper in the absence of the regular editor, and later an illustrated weekly, *Lördags-Nisse*. He was as innocent of dishonesty and of the character of his associates as was the dummy president of the Swedish Commercial Company of the activities of that corporation. Lundberg did not know English and had only an elementary knowledge of arithmetic; but what he lacked in those fields was more than made up by Fogelberg, who was a wizard with figures. At the first meeting of the land company, various plans were considered: settlements in Eastern Missouri, Northeastern Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Illinois. The choice fell on Missouri, and a certain A. P. Onsdorf was sent to Macon County as the representative of the company. He made arrangements with the railroad company, took settlers and prospective settlers in hand, and was a sort of manager of the colony. In Eslöv, Sweden, Onsdorf had been known as Per Nilsson, but as a result of shady transactions escaped to America, in possession of a passport issued to Onsdorf, who was a real person. In America this man dealt honorably, but was involved in a project, the true nature of which he did not understand. The Swedish Commercial Company sold stock in a sawmill, which was to be set up in the colony. The settlers were promised free railway fare a part of the way and reduced rates for the rest of the journey. The company got under way, but very soon dissension appeared in the management. A seceding faction organized a company called the Lincoln Land Company, which secured an option on Union Pacific land in Lincoln County, Kansas.[43]

What took the wind out of the sails of the Missouri company, however, was a communication from Charles Söderberg to *Svenska Amerikanaren*. He had traveled considerably and related at first hand how things were going in several Swedish colonies in the Southwest. He said the land companies had rendered a certain service, but that most of them had fallen into the control of incompetent or corrupt men. He explained the principles upon which the companies operated. Either each member paid an initial fee, which was used to pay the expenses of a committee sent to "view the land," leaving the members the right to purchase as much land as desired under the direction of the company; or all members worked in common for five years, after which the property was divided. In the case of the Missouri Land Company, he said, the delay in selecting a site for the colony had caused members to buy land on their own hook; but as finally developed, land could be purchased from the railway company, which paid a commission to the Swedish Commercial Company. This was a swindle on the members of the land company, who had paid fees to defray certain expenses and never

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[43] *Svenska Amerikanaren*, July 8, 12, 19, September 9, October 7, 28, 1868, February 2, 23, March 16, 1869; C. F. Peterson, "C. O. Lundberg," *Valkyrian*, August, 1897, pp. 1-4; [Bladh], *Bland bättre folk och pack*, pp. 92-94.

expected that the officers of the company would use the money to enrich themselves. The prices of the land had been raised from time to time, and as it was not contiguous, there was no possibility of founding a Swedish colony. He also found that the sawmill, the stock of which had been sold at twenty-five dollars per share, had never been set up. With reference to the Lincoln colony, Söderberg found that it was just a branch of the Missouri company, the secession having been merely a "blind." The president of the former company had been discharged when it was learned that he was the agent for the National Land Company, and thus had profited at the expense of the purchasers of Lincoln land. Moreover, when the members received their contracts written in English, which many of them did not understand, they learned that a certain amount of land had to be cultivated within two years and three tenths within five years.[44] Both Fogelberg and Ekvall, who was living in Chicago at this time, wrote communications to the newspapers, denying Söderberg's assertions and charging that he was interested in rival companies; but in an affidavit before a justice of the peace the latter flatly denied it.[45]

The effect of the exposure was the resignation of all the officers of the Missouri Land Company and the deposit of its books with a justice of the peace. The cap sheaf of the whole affair was an unsigned article in *Svenska Amerikanaren,* written by "Boston" Swenson, a paid correspondent of the paper, which was such a merciless indictment of the officers of the company, that it was the talk of the Chicago Swedes for many years.[46] It was also translated into English.

Thus ended the Missouri Land Company, but the Swedish Commercial Company remained in the arena, and it had several brethren in the faith. One of these brethren was the Swedish Emigration Society, which was born into the world the same year (1868). Its stated purpose was to protect emigrants, but it was decidedly more interested in selling transportation and land to them. The head office was in Chicago, with branches in New York and Gothenburg. The directing genius in this organization was Captain Lange, who for a time was in charge of the Gothenberg office. Within a short time ugly stories were abroad with reference to the transactions of this company.[47]

One of the most powerful and long-lived corporations was the American Emigrant Company, which was organized shortly after the enactment by Congress of the law of July 4, 1864, the purpose of which was to stimulate immigration, in order to relieve the labor shortage caused by the Civil War. The head office of this company was at Hartford, Connecticut, with a network of agencies in the United States, Great Britain, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, France, and Switzerland. According to the prospectus, its purpose was to distribute more evenly workingmen between America and Europe, to raise wages,

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[44] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* May 4, 1869.

[45] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* May 4, 11, 1869.

[46] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* May 25, June 15, 22, September 14, 21, 28, October 5, 1869; C. F. Peterson, in *Valkyrian,* July, 1897, p. 2.

[47] *Svenska Minnesota-Bladet* (Red Wing), March 6, 1869; *Svenska Amerikanaren,* June 22, 1869; *Kristianstads-Bladet,* July 28, 1869.

and to abolish superfluity of labor. It advertised the cheapest transportation tickets and a million and a half acres of land in the Western States. Fredrik Nelson and P. L. Hawkinson, the Swedish consul, were in charge of the Chicago office and Captain R. E. Jeansson was the manager of the New York branch. Immigrants were told that they would be met by these officials at the docks and railway stations. The extensive advertising of this concern in the papers of America and Sweden bears witness that there was considerable wealth back of it. Captain Jeansson was converted to Baptism in Sweden and came to New York in 1865. Before entering the business world, he served as a Baptist minister. The American Emigrant Company was very successful in obtaining testimonials from influential men, a noticeable instance being a letter of indorsement from Henry Ward Beecher addressed to C. E. Habicht, the Swedish consul at New York.[48]

The above list by no means exhausts the number of emigration companies and agents of various hues that swarmed in the Swedish Chicago colony; but it has been thought necessary to introduce the most prominent ones, who had the misfortune to read about themselves in Isidor Kjellberg's *Justitia*. Indeed the entire file of the paper is a history of the Swedish Commercial Company.

Justitia made merry over the pretense of the agents, who disclaimed all intention to stimulate emigration, but who as philanthropists or altruistic business men offered their services to those who had already made up their minds to desert the fatherland. The following was put into the mouth of a prominent representative of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railway and the Northern Pacific Railway: "Dear countrymen: It is certainly remote from my purpose to encourage anyone to emigrate from the beloved fatherland . . . but to those who are determined to go, I merely wish to say that America (and particularly that part that is called Minnesota) is the most wonderful country in the world . . . Fortunate, indeed, is he who is already there." [49] It devoted a column to the "Runner's Monologue," which fairly scorched the names of several individuals parading before the immigrants at the railway station as angels of light and entangling them in their nets. The same issue published the membership list of the "Swedish Men's Christian Association," as follows:[50]

"This is the name of a society said to have been recently organized by the following religiously minded men:

"Dr. C. O. Lundberg, founder of the Missouri Land Company and former editor of the Methodist paper *Sändebudet*.

"Captain H. A. Burger, former emigration agent; as is well known, he has more than once felt called upon to preach the word of life to recently arrived immigrants.

"Captain R. E. Jeansson, agent for the American Emigrant Company; he has successfully appeared as a preacher in this country as well as in Sweden.

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[48] Advertisements and "news items" in *Sändebudet* (Chicago), July 31, October 6, 1865; *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning*, March 31, 1866; *Svenska Amerikanaren*, January 22, 1868; *Kristianstads-Bladet*, June 6, 1868; *Nya Wexjö-Bladet*, March 9, 1870; *Amerika*, May 5, 1870; *Swerige och Amerika (Jönköping)*, August 11, 1871; *Hemlandet*, July 5, 1865.

[49] *Justitia*, May 27, 1871.

[50] *Justitia*, April 15, 1871.

"Pastor Nils Anderson, former Swedish Lutheran pastor, now an emigrant runner.

"Colonel Hans Mattson, emigration agent and land commissioner; often spoken of as a popular Methodist preacher, some years ago.

"A. E. Johnson, general agent for the Cunard Line; in many places in America he has demonstrated that he is endowed with the power of the spirit, in that he has held well attended religious services, at which he has preached the word to the heathen, that is, to his innocent countrymen."

While he did not neglect the other agents, Kjellberg was especially generous in giving space to Captain Burger and Fogelberg. He was continually harping on the alliance between the Swedish Commercial Company and Ekvall, claiming that the latter was sent to Gothenburg to edit *Amerika* as the organ of that concern; and it must be admitted that this paper justified his suspicions.[51] Turning his attention to Burger's activity as land agent, he wrote that before him lay a printed plan of the large city of Gothenburg, Kansas, which, he said, did not exist. In the lower margin of the map was printed the following: "The city of Gothenburg, founded in the year 1870 by H. A. Burger, is situated in one of the most delightful parts of Northern Kansas."[52]

In the same issue he devoted a column to the career of Fogelberg and still had material enough to rake over the coals the Scandinavian Emigrant Agency, a less conspicuous affair. Captain Lange came in for his share of abuse for his activity against Lincoln's re-election in 1864 and Grant's election in 1868, and he cartooned him as crucified, with a dog barking at him.[53]

The other papers joined in the hue and cry. The runners struck back, and C. F. Peterson, editor of *Nya Verlden,* was arrested and jailed for calling the officials of the Scandinavian Emigrant Agency thieves.[54] Things got so hot that the Swedish Commercial Company went up in smoke and Fogelberg absconded. It appears that Burger made a tour of the Northwest, selling transportation tickets to Scandinavians to send to relatives and friends in Sweden and Norway. The purchasers of tickets usually bought exchange on Gothenburg and sent it with the tickets. Burger then went to Sweden with the money and Fogelberg fled with what was left in the treasury. All the while the books and figures had been juggled, in order to make it appear that the paid in capital was much larger than it really was.[55]

Shortly after the collapse of the Swedish Commercial Company, a Scandinavian mass meeting was called on April 8, 1871. Several speakers appeared and resolutions were adopted, condemning the managers of

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[51] *öresunds-Posten,* March 8, 1870; *Minnesota Tidning,* June 16, 1870; *Amerika,* September 8, 1870; *Justitia,* March 25, June 24, August 12, 1871.

[52] *Justitia,* March 25, 1871.

[53] *Justitia,* April 29, May 13, 1871; C. F. Peterson, "Isidor Kjellberg," in *Valkyrian,* May, 1897, pp. 33-35.

[54] C. F. Peterson, in *Valkyrian,* October, 1897, p. 14; Chicago correspondence of *öresunds-Posten,* April 29, 1871.

[55] Chicago correspondence of *öresunds-Posten,* April 29, 1871; *Hemlandet* quoted in *Ibid.,* June 29, 1871; *Nya Verlden,* quoted in *Svenska Monitören,* March 22, 1871; account of John Blegen, bookkeeper in the employ of the Swedish Commercial Company, in *Justitia,* August 12, 26, 1871. In a communication to *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* Burger defended his part in the company.

the Scandinavian Emigrant Agency for sending immigrants to the Southern States and censuring *Svenska Amerikanaren* for recommending the agency. The latter paper retorted by asserting that the meeting was called by the *Hemlandet* crowd out of jealousy.[56]

The Augean stables, however, were not swept clean in one day, and *Justitia* continued to appear every other week. Another mass meeting was held on September 30, 1871, in Ulrich's hall. This came pretty nearly being a "Kjellberg meeting." Marcus Thrane, now editor of *Dagslyset,* in a fiery speech gave all the credit to his kindred soul for starting the agitation against the Swedish Commercial Company, for exposing the character of other sharks, and for standing alone against formidable enemies before whom the other editors were cowed. Sundelius, now back in the editorial chair in the office of *Svenska Amerikanaren,* was roundly censured, a circumstance that explains the sarcastic report of the meeting in the columns of his paper. The three and a quarter column story of the meeting in *Justitia,* October 7, 1871, marked the last appearance of the "bat."[57] Two days later the office of the paper that had set the Swedish colony on its ears was consumed in the conflagration that laid a large part of the flourishing city in ashes. The flames showed partiality to neither the churchly nor the un-churchly faction, destroying six Swedish churches and the building that housed Sällskapet Svea and rendering at least five thousand Swedes homeless.[58]

As for Kjellberg, his work in America was finished. He returned to Sweden in the early spring of 1872. All the old fighting spirit of *Justitia* was transferred to *ösgöten,* which he established in Linköping, as witnessed by an appeal signed by fellow crusaders to the public, asking for contributions to show Isidor Kjellberg appreciation, during his incarceration in the jail at Linköping, for his services as editor of a liberal paper, the friend of the workingman and agitator for a Scandinavian republic. He found time to return to America for a visit, and he never ceased praising the virtues and opportunities of the great Republic of the West. To those who said that the person who advertised the advantages of America was lacking in patriotism, he replied, "Truth above all." Let us not abuse the term "patriotism," he said. "It does not mean that the truth should be kept from the workingman; it does not mean that we should lie to keep him under the yoke. I love my country, but I love humanity even more."[59] Misguided at times, weakening his influence by sometimes attacking good men, Isidor Kjellberg's mistakes were not from the heart. He was less afraid of rascals than of his conscience.

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[56] *Hemlandet,* April 11, 1871; *Svenska Amerikanaren,* April 11, 1871.

[57] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* October 3, 1871; *Hemlandet,* October 3, 1871; *Justitia,* October 7, 1871.

[58] J. A. Enander, "Chicagos brand," in *Vintersol,* 1901, pp. 153-154.

[59] *Göteborgs-Posten,* quoted in *Westerbotten* (Umeå), June 10, 1881; Isidor Kjellberg, *Föredrag om Amerika,* p. 50. An attack on Kjellberg, signed "Nemesis," and a defense, signed "P. J.," is printed in *Bihang till Nya Sverige* (Rockford), April 3, 17, 1872.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The newspapers cited in this paper were used mainly in the Royal library in Stockholm. The files are not complete in all cases, but for the period before the Chicago fire this is the most complete collection of Swedish-American newspapers in existence, the Augustana College library in Rock Island ranking second. This second library possesses a complete file of *Hemlandet* and a few numbers of *Den swenske republikanen* and *Amerika.* The file of *Justitia* in the Stockholm library is complete and probably unique. The pre-eminence of the collection in the Royal library pertaining to the period before 1871 is explained by the fact that the Rev. T. N. Hasselquist subscribed to these papers on behalf of the library, and were forwarded by him, most of the issues having his name written on them. The files preserved in the newspaper offices in Chicago were, of course, destroyed in the fire.

The best published guide to the Swedish-American newspapers is Bernard Lundstedt, *Svenska tidningar och tidskrifter utgifna inom Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater. Bibliografisk öfversikt* (Stockholm: Kongl. Boktryckeriet, 1886, pp. 53). In the preface it is stated that the papers in the Royal library published in the United States have been secured largely through the co-operation of Dr. T. N. Hasselquist for many years. In 1859 Hasselquist was commissioned by the library to subscribe to all Swedish papers in the United States and to purchase all available literature. The list includes all Swedish publications and English publications written by Swedes, arranged chronologically according to the date of the establishment of the paper, place of publication, format, price, editor, and publisher. This is followed by an arrangement according to geography and the alphabet, together with a list of the missing numbers. Aid is acknowledged from A. R. Cervin, J. A. Enander, Isidor Kjellberg, Andrew Lofgren, Oliver Linder, A. Svedberg, Ninian Waerner, and especially Ernst Skarstedt.

The files of the *Lutheran Observer* and the *Missionary* were used at Augustana College.

The manuscript material was used in Sweden. The Wieselgren correspondence is in the city library of Gothenburg and the correspondence of the Swedish ministers and consuls in the United States is in the Royal Archives in Stockholm.

The rest of the material was used in the Royal library, but complete runs of *Prärieblomman, Valkyrian, Vintersol,* and *Teologisk Tidskrift* are in the Augustana library and probably in a number of other libraries. The collections of the Swedish Historical Society of America are on permanent deposit with the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul.

PART III

Contributions to State History

1929.

LIFE OF COL. SHADRACH BOND, THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS UNDER STATEHOOD

By Kinnie A. Ostewig.

PREFACE

The State of Illinois is now nearly a hundred years old. She has passed the stage of infancy into age. And during these one hundred years Illinois has been progressing along all lines with such tremendous rapidity as to surpass even the fondest anticipations of her most optimistic people.

True, Illinois has passed through most troublous times from the pioneer days of the uncivilized and savage Indian until the living present. First the Indians had to be met and subdued; then came the supporters of the institution of slavery striving with might and main to make Illinois a slave State; then sectional conflict and the Mormons; next the stirring epoch of the deadly Civil War, and a defunct State Treasury; then floods, strikes and labor uprisings; and lastly the steady flow of fraud and corruption, even within her legislative halls—the predominance of moneyed powers along commercial and political lines.

But although Illinois has had her banner and her reputation as a State trailed in the mire, she has triumphed over all these troubles and dissensions, and put to flight the maligners of her honor. She stands today as she nears the century mark, in an equal light and influence to any of her foremost sister States.

She weeps, she scoffs, she smiles, she bids you welcome. She bears, she lives, she takes her place in the forward rank.

In recording herein the brief sketch of the life of her first chief executive, the man who in conjunction with his subordinates moulded the character of the infant State nearly a century ago, the author realizes that no writer can give him that justly credit that belongs to him or to the age in which he governed because of the lack of acquaintance with the man and with so early a period.

No one survives today who lived and acted in this first State administration; therefore we depend almost entirely upon the accuracy of early Illinois historical research for authority.

The story of the life of Governor Shadrach Bond as written by the author of this volume is the most exhaustive as well as the most accurate of the number of sketches that have been written relative to his life and administration and can be referred to as the best authority. Col. Bond has almost been forgotten during the past decades. Therefore this souvenir volume is brought forth as a living monument to his memory.

The author is indebted to Governor Bond's youngest child, the late Dr. Benjamin Nicodemus Bond, and wife, the late Mrs. Mary Esther

Bond, who have furnished the family history and illustrations contained herein.

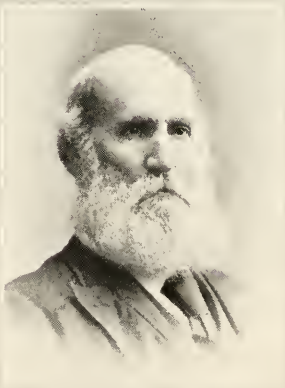
The author is also indebted to early histories of Illinois, written by Reynolds, Ford, and Moses, and especially the latter, for matters concerning Governor Bond and his administration in as far as their accuracy extends.

This work, therefore, is presented with the idea of making it an authority on the life of the first Governor of Illinois and the more important happenings of his administration from October 6, 1818, to December 5, 1822, and is written expressly for the Illinois State Historical Society.

THE AUTHOR.

Lee, Lee County, Illinois, February 19, 1914.

Governor Shadrach Bond



Dr. Benjamin N. Bond
YOUNGEST CHILD OF SHADRACH BOND

Mrs. Achsah Bond
WIFE OF GOVERNOR BOND

LIFE OF COL. SHADRACH BOND, THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS UNDER STATEHOOD

Col. Shadrach Bond, the first Governor of Illinois, was born at Fredericktown, Frederick County, Maryland, November 24, 1773. He was descended from Peter Bond, Sr., the progenitor of the Bond family in America. Peter Bond, Sr., came to Anne Arundel County, Maryland, in 1660 from Virginia, where he had resided temporarily after his arrival from England. In Anne Arundel County, Maryland, he took up a large amount of land and later was followed in this by his sons and grandsons, until the power of acquisition waned, and owing to the large families amongst whom it was divided it caused the younger members to scatter into various States.

Peter Bond, Sr., was twice married; firstly in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, and having two sons by that union, Peter Bond, Jr., and Thomas Bond. Peter Bond, Sr., removed to Baltimore County, in that part which is now Harford County, Maryland, and in 1692 married a second time, two sons being born from this union—William Bond, who died in 1739, and John Bond, who died in 1730, both sons leaving large families. Peter Bond, Sr., died in 1705, and some time after his death his widow married Philip Washington.

The eldest of his four sons, Peter Bond, Jr., was married to Miss Eleanor Gill, and they became the parents of six children, all sons. He died in 1718, and his widow not long afterward married Hill Savidge. The sons of Peter Bond, Jr., were Richard Bond; William Bond; Thomas Bond, who married, and died in 1769; Peter Bond III, who married, and died in 1765; John Bond, who married Miss Isabella Robertson in 1733, and died in 1739; and Benjamin Bond, who married Miss Clemency Taylor. Richard Bond, Sr., was the eldest of the children of Peter Bond, Jr., and was married at Baltimore, Maryland, where he continued to reside, to Miss Mary Stevenson, and they became the parents of thirteen children, nine daughters and four sons. He died at Baltimore, Maryland, in 1763.

Their children were Richard Bond, Jr., who married, and died in 1797; John Bond; Shadrach Bond, Sr., who was married to Miss Rachel Gott; Nicodemus Bond, who was the father of the future first Governor of Illinois; Miss Mary Bond, who married a Maloney; Miss Jemina Bond, who married an Ensor; Miss Ruth Bond, who married a Gott; Miss Phoebe Bond, who married a Butler; Miss Ann Bond, who married a Constanty; Miss Sarah Bond, who married a Bryson; Miss Elizabeth Bond, who married Mordecai Cole; Miss Helen Bond; Miss Margaret Bond; and Miss Eleanor Bond, who married a Prindell.

Their mother, Mrs. Mary Stevenson Bond, many years after the death of her husband, Richard Bond, Sr., came to Illinois to visit her son, Shadrach Bond, Sr., the uncle of the first Governor of Illinois, and while on this visit first made the acquaintance of Dr. Caldwell Cairns, who was from Pennsylvania, one of the signers of the first Constitution of Illinois and a prominent physician in those early times; and shortly after were married at the home of her son, Shadrach Bond, Sr. Dr. Caldwell Cairns and wife became the parents of three children, the eldest child being Miss Mary Stevenson Cairns, named for her mother, and who was married twice, firstly to Henry C. Mizner, and after his death to Gen James Semple on June 5, 1833, later a United States Senator from Illinois.

Her son, Shadrach Bond, Sr., was born in Maryland, and was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, performing gallant service in the fight for freedom against England. He was a member of the army commanded by Col. George Rogers Clark, and this army had been sent on an expedition in the West, capturing a number of strong forts. They had returned home giving a glowing description of the natural advantages of the country, inducing thereby a large emigration from Maryland and Virginia into the West. In 1781, Shadrach Bond, Sr., in company with James Moore, the leader, James Garrison, Robert Kidd, Larkin Rutherford, and James Piggott, with their families, came from Maryland and settled on the American Bottom—this name originating with them—in what is now Monroe County, Illinois. They were all soldiers in the Clark campaign excepting Garrison.

There in 1782, Bond and others began the settlement of the "New Design" district located near Eagle Creek, on a beautiful elevation overlooking both the Mississippi and Kaskaskia Rivers. He engaged in farming, but was soon called into public life in the territorial government. In 1798, it having been ascertained that the Northwest Territory contained a population of five thousand inhabitants, steps were taken to advance it to the rank of a territory of the second grade. An election was therefore ordered for Representatives to a Territorial General Assembly, which was to convene at Cincinnati, Ohio, February 4, 1799. To this body, Shadrach Bond, Sr., was elected a delegate for St. Clair County, then comprehending nearly all of Illinois. His colleague was Gen. John Edgar, from Randolph County, these two men representing Illinois in this Territorial General Assembly. Illinois was then a part of Northwest Territory.

This Territorial General Assembly adjourned until September 24, 1799, when the organization was completed. During the first session which terminated December 19, 1799, forty-eight acts were passed, of which thirty-seven were approved by the Governor of the Territory and eleven were vetoed. Bond took a leading part in the deliberations of this body, serving with such distinguished statesmen as Col. Return Jonathan Meigs, afterward a Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court, Governor of, and United States Senator from Ohio, and Postmaster-General of the United States; Thomas Worthington and Rev. Edward Tiffin, both Governors of, and United States Senators from Ohio; Gen. James Findlay, Representative in Congress from the Cincinnati, Ohio, district,

from 1825 to 1833; Jacob Burnet, a Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court and United States Senator from Ohio; and Solomon Sibley, a Delegate in Congress from Michigan Territory and Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan Territory.

On January 3, 1805, an election was held for Delegates to the first General Assembly of Indiana Territory, as Illinois was then included in Indiana Territory. The members elected from St. Clair County were Shadrach Bond, Sr., and William Biggs. This Territorial General Assembly convened at Vincennes, Indiana, February 7, 1805, and having recommended a list of persons from whom to select a Legislative Council, adjourned. As Shadrach Bond, Sr., was chosen by Congress as a member of the Legislative Council, his nephew, Col. Shadrach Bond, afterward the first governor of Illinois, was chosen to the vacancy as his successor as Delegate to the Territorial General Assembly to represent St. Clair County.

Shadrach Bond, Sr., the uncle of the first Governor of Illinois, was married early in life to Miss Rachel Gott. She died March 27, 1806, and her husband died May 27, 1812, six years later, and a little more than six years previous to the election of his illustrious nephew as the first Governor of Illinois, and the formation of Illinois as a State. Shadrach Bond, Sr., was one of the early pioneer settlers of Illinois, having come at the time of the closing year of the Revolutionary War, and when Illinois was a County of Virginia. He had been very prominent in the Territorial government of Illinois, but did not live to see Illinois organized and admitted as a State nor his nephew elevated to the office of Governor.

Nicodemus Bond, Sr., the father of Col. Shadrach Bond, was born in Maryland, July 26, 1743. He was a prominent planter in Maryland and as was the custom in early times also was the owner of a number of negro slaves, who assisted on his plantation. He died August 13, 1804, aged sixty-one years and eighteen days. He did not live to see his son elected as the first Governor of Illinois, dying fourteen years before.

Col. Shadrach Bond was the eldest child of Nicodemus Bond, Sr. He sprang from sturdy Irish stock, as his early forefathers were from Ireland, but later had settled in England, and thence emigrating to America. The members of the Bond family had been citizens of Maryland for more than a century before his birth. He was reared on his father's plantation in Frederick County, Maryland, and received as liberal a common-school education as was afforded in those early pioneer days. He assisted on the plantation, was reared as a farmer, and always continued as one. In the course of time he also became a land owner, and like his father, came into possession of a number of slaves.

In the year 1794, ten years before his father's death, he emigrated from his native State of Maryland to Illinois, having barely passed the age of twenty-one years, and at first resided with his uncle, Shadrach Bond, Sr., on the American Bottom, in what is now Monroe County, Illinois. Illinois was then a part of the Northwest Territory. After living for a time with his uncle, he engaged in farming on his own ac-

count in the "New Design" district, near Eagle Creek, in what is now Monroe County. It was then St. Clair County.

On November 27, 1810, then thirty-seven years of age, he was married at Nashville, Tennessee, to Miss Achsah Bond, who was a distant cousin of his. She was born in the city of Baltimore, Maryland, in 1775. Like her illustrious husband she was also descended from Peter Bond, Sr., who came to Anne Arundel County, Maryland, in 1660 from Virginia, and originally from England.

Thomas Bond, Sr., the son of Peter Bond, Sr., by his first marriage, was married to Miss Ann Robertson, and they became the parents of eight children, seven sons and one daughter. He died in 1755. The sons were as follows—Jacob Bond was married to Miss Fanny Partridge and died in 1780; Thomas Bond, Jr., born in 1706, was married to Miss Elizabeth Scott in 1725, and died in 1769, aged sixty-three years; Joshua Bond, born in 1718, was married to Miss Ann Partridge, and died in 1768, aged fifty years; Daniel Bond, unmarried; Peter Bond, unmarried, and died in 1739; John Bond, born in 1712, and was married to Miss Alice Ann Webster, fourteen children being born to them, and died in 1790, aged seventy-eight years; and William Bond, who married Miss Elizabeth Stansberry.

Jacob Bond was the eldest child of Thomas Bond, Sr., and the latter's second child and only daughter, Miss Sarah Bond, was married to William Fell, she dying previously to the year 1755. The Fell family were of Irish origin, the progenitor of the family having come to America with Lord Baltimore in 1634 and settled in Maryland. William Fell and his wife became the parents of five children, four daughters and one son. The eldest child was Miss Catherine Fell, who married Thomas Bond III, and who became the parents of Miss Achsah Bond, who married the first Governor of Illinois.

The other children of William Fell and wife were, Miss Jeannette Fell, who married a Few; Edward Fell, who married Miss Ann Bond, the daughter of John Bond, who was married to Miss Alice Ann Webster; Miss Ann Fell, who married a Day; and Miss Margaret Fell, who never married.

Thomas Bond III, the father-in-law of the future first Governor of Illinois, was the son of Thomas Bond, Jr., who was married to Miss Elizabeth Scott. Thomas Bond III and wife became the parents of eight children, five daughters and three sons. The children were as follows: Edward Bond, who died in 1783; Miss Elizabeth Bond, who married a Gibson; Miss Achsah Bond, who married Col. Shadrach Bond, the first Governor of Illinois; Fell Bond, a second son; Miss Margaret Bond, who married a Willis; Miss Martha Bond, who married a Dickinson; Thomas W. Bond, and another daughter, who married a Love. This in brief was the genealogy of the wife of the first Governor of Illinois.

After their marriage Col. Shadrach Bond and his wife came to Illinois and settled on a farm on the bank of what is known to fishing clubs as "Murdoch's Lake," in the "New Design" district, in what is now Monroe County, where the first Governor of Illinois built a log cabin as his home, which remained until recently. The name of Mur-

doch's Lake was closely connected with Methodism. John Caspar Murdoch, when a boy, accompanied his father, a minister of the gospel, and family, up the Mississippi River on a keel boat. While anchored at what is known as the Devil's Bake Oven in Jackson County, Illinois, young Murdoch and a companion left the boat on a hunting trip, leaving his father, mother, sister, and baby brother on the boat, as well as the rest of the crew.

On their return from the hunt young Murdoch and companion found the boat had been burned, and the bodies of all horribly mangled. Young Murdoch swore eternal hatred to the Indians, especially the tribe who were immediately concerned in this affair. He started on their trail, and following them up closely came upon these murderous Indians at this lake, named in his honor. His companion was slain, but in retaliation Murdoch slew his first Indian. Murdoch settled there and became a fast friend with his neighbor, Col. Shadrach Bond, residing at that place until his death.

Mrs. Bond often related Murdoch's exploits. One day as he was kneeling in prayer word came that some of the Indians were out on the lake. He sprang to his feet, ran to the front yard, and calling upon God to help him, fired bullet after bullet into their midst, killing several, and then kneeling, with a loud voice thanked Providence for the victory.

Mrs. Bond set up the family altar and continued so to do unto the day of her death. In July, 1811, a local minister named Rev. Talbott came there and put up at the home of Col. Shadrach Bond. This minister sent out notices for miles around that the following Sunday there would be preaching at Col. Bond's home. There were present at that first service held in that region exactly six white persons, one of whom was this same Murdoch.

A series of meetings were held, resulting in the forming of a class of seven, the members being: Mrs. Shadrach Bond, the hostess; Miss Isabella Bond, living six miles distant; Dr. Caldwell Cairns and wife; Miss Hannah Bond, living eight miles distant; Samuel Hull, twenty-four miles distant; J. B. Starr, sixteen miles distant, and Mr. Miles, ten miles away. Although few traveling ministers reached that place, still some of saintly memory did come and preach, and to these local preachers the church was indebted to a great extent for the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois.

Col. Shadrach Bond, while still a young man, had inherited a plantation in Maryland, and with this plantation by inheritance had also become the owner of six hundred negro slaves. He was so strongly opposed to slavery that he mortgaged his land to raise the bonds necessary to liberate his slaves. Although southern born, with southern blood flowing in his veins, he was one of the exceptions in his opinions on slavery. He liberated all his slaves because he believed the traffic was wrong, and remained an ardent anti-slavery advocate even unto the day of his death. This principle he also instilled into the lives of the family which he raised, as they were all anti-slavery advocates.

On the other hand his wife, also southern born, had, like her husband, become the owner of a large number of slaves by inheritance

shortly before her marriage, refused to free them and held them until the law required her to have them indentured. Although Mrs. Bond was a most rigid Methodist of the stamp, still she remained a strong pro-slavery enthusiast to the day of her death, as she believed in its righteousness, and that the traffic in slaves was not a curse nor a sin, but a blessing instituted by Christian people for the welfare of humanity.

Coming to Illinois so early, and coming in contact with so many people of that early day, he formed the acquaintance of the people of three future states. After he brought his wife to his home shortly after marriage, he invited the people of what are now the three states of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri to come to his "infair," as they called it in those days. A great number accepted the invitation, and this being long before the days of railroads, they came in all manner of conveyances and camped in the grove on his farm. There they feasted, drank, and danced for several days at his expense. His wife being an ardent Methodist, objected to this procedure, but he told her that he had always promised an "infair" for his friends when he got married, so of course the "infair" was held.

Col. Shadrach Bond and wife became the parents of seven children, five daughters and two sons. Five of these children grew to maturity, two daughters dying in early girlhood. Miss Julia Rachel Bond, one of the daughters of Governor Bond, was married on May 27, 1834, to Francis Swanwick, and they resided at Chester, Randolph County, Illinois, where she died of cholera in 1849. She was survived by three children, one of whom, William Swanwick, was a resident of Oak Park, Cook County, Illinois, and who had a number of sons and one daughter.

Another daughter of Governor Bond, Miss Mary Achsah Bond, who on March 1, 1838, was married to Joseph B. Holmes, also resided at Chester, Illinois, where she died in 1878. Her husband was several times mayor of Chester. The eldest of their children, Mrs. Achsah Susan Charles, resided at St. Louis, Missouri, where also her sons, Benjamin H. Charles, a leading attorney, and Dr. Joseph Charles, a prominent physician, resided. Another of their daughters, Miss Mary Isabella Holmes, was married to William Hartzell of Chester, Illinois, who was elected and served as Representative in Congress from the Eighteenth Illinois district for two terms, or four years, from March 4, 1875, to March 4, 1879, as a Democrat, a member of the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses, and also serving as Justice of the Circuit Court of Illinois from the Third Judicial Circuit for one term, or six years, from June 18, 1897, to June 18, 1903. She died some years ago, being survived by two children, a son, Joseph Hartzell of Kansas City, Missouri, and a daughter, Mrs. Mabel H. Randolph of Chester, Illinois.

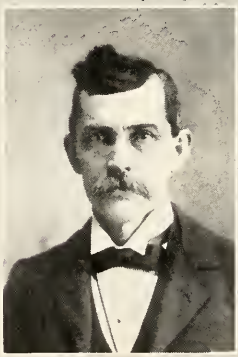
The other children of Joseph B. Holmes and wife were: William M. Holmes, who resided at Medford, Oregon, having a family of several children; Edward Fell Holmes, a traveling man in the Southern States, who was unmarried; Joseph B. Holmes, Jr., of Central Point, Oregon, having a family of several children, and Shadrach Bond Holmes, who resided at Eagle Point, Oregon, having no children.

Thomas Shadrach Bond, the elder of the two sons of Governor Bond, was never married, and died at Chester, Illinois, in 1849 from

S.C. Bond
GRANDSON OF GOVERNOR BOND

Thomas W. Bond
GRANDSON OF GOVERNOR BOND

Albert, Fred and Floyd Bond
GREAT-GRANDSONS OF GOVERNOR BOND



Edward R. Bond

C. F. Bond

GRANDSONS OF GOVERNOR BOND

cholera, the same year as his elder sister, who also died of that plague. The youngest of the daughters of Governor Bond was Miss Isabella Fell Bond, who was married on June 1, 1854, to James P. Craig. She died in January, 1860, leaving five children, of whom the last survivor was Mrs. Julia E. Foster of Eldorado Springs, Missouri.

The youngest of the children, seven in number, of Governor Bond, and also the last survivor of the family, was Dr. Benjamin Nicodemus Bond, who was born on his father's farm about one mile from Kaskaskia, Randolph County, on Thursday, September 17, 1826. He was married on Thursday, June 18, 1846, then nineteen years of age, to Miss Mary Esther Jones, a daughter of Dr. C. T. Jones, a prominent physician and formerly from Kentucky. They became the parents of nine children, eight sons and one daughter.

The eldest child of Dr. Bond, a son, Shadrach Cuthbert Bond, was born at Steeleville, Randolph County, Illinois, November 11, 1847. He was married in 1895 to Miss Clara Vassie Graves, and they were the parents of two daughters, Miss Ruth Ethel Bond, who died at birth, and Miss Lois Mary Bond. Later he became a resident of Seattle, Washington, where he entered the United States custom service as deputy collector of customs.

The second child, Thomas William Bond, was born at Chester, Randolph County, Illinois, September 23, 1849. He was married in 1881 to Miss Clara Davie, and they were the parents of three children, two daughters and one son. He was an engineer and machinist residing at St. Louis, Missouri.

The third child, Edward Rogers Bond, was born at Chester, Randolph County, Illinois, May 23, 1852. He was married in 1876 to Miss May Elliott, and they became the parents of five children, four daughters and one son. He resided at Dixon, Lee County, Illinois, and died there on Christmas day, December 25, 1910, aged fifty-eight years, being buried at Champaign, Illinois. He was survived by his widow and three children, two daughters and one son.

The fourth child of Dr. Bond, and the only daughter in the family, Miss Eliza Lucretia Bond, was born at Evansville, Randolph County, Illinois, September 10, 1856. She was married in 1880 to Alexander Wilson Watson of Adams County, Illinois. They became the parents of seven children, four daughters and three sons. They resided at Bellingham, Washington, for a time and later at Seattle, Washington. The summer vacation was usually spent on a homestead in Chelan County, Washington, which they owned.

The fifth child of Dr. Bond, Francis Lewis Bond, was born at Evansville, Randolph County, Illinois, November 11, 1858, exactly eleven years following his eldest brother's birth. He died at the same place in infancy, when but six months old.

The sixth child, Charles Frederick Bond, was born at Evansville, Randolph County, Illinois, March 6, 1860. He was married in 1889 to Miss Libbie Jenkins and had a family of ten children. He was a mail carrier in the city of Bellingham, Washington.

The seventh child, Henry Fell Bond, was born at Evansville, Randolph County, Illinois, August 19, 1862. He died from a congestive chill when six years of age.

The eighth child, Benjamin Alvin Bond, was born at Chester, Randolph County, Illinois, December 24, 1864. He was drowned at the age of fourteen years. The ninth and youngest child, Herbert Cecil Bond, was born at Grand Tower, Jackson County, Illinois, January 29, 1872. He died in infancy at the age of ten months.

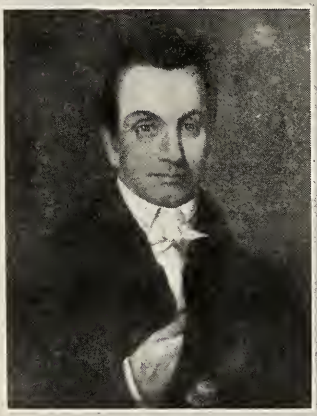
Shortly after his marriage Dr. Benjamin Nicodemus Bond began the practice of medicine at Chester, Randolph County, Illinois. He had previously completed his studies for the medical profession. He also practiced his profession at Steeleville and Evansville and at other places in Randolph County, Illinois, but resided most of this time at Chester. However, he removed with his family to the city of St. Louis, Missouri, some time previous to the breaking out of the Civil War, to enter into a more extensive practice because of a wider field for his work. He remained in this practice until 1862, the second year of the Civil War.

On August 30, 1862, Dr. Bond was appointed by Hamilton Rowan Gamble, then Governor of Missouri, as Surgeon of the Twenty-seventh Missouri Volunteer Infantry Regiment, soon afterward attaining the rank of major in the Union Army. In this service he took a prominent part in the siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi, in the battle of Lookout Mountain, and the fight on Missionary Ridge, on the plains of Chattanooga, Tennessee. He was also a member of the force that took part in the march through Georgia and to the sea under the command of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, which finally ended at the close of the war in 1865 in the grand review at Washington, D. C., which signaled the return of peace and the preservation of the Union.

Dr. Bond sustained injuries in an accident on the railroad between Stevenson and Nashville, Tennessee, during the war, being granted a leave of absence for twenty days, dating from March 7, 1864, by order of Gen. Sherman, then stationed at Huntsville, Alabama. On August 23, 1864, he was assigned to duty as Surgeon-in-Chief of the First Division of the Fifteenth Army Corps by order of Maj.-Gen. John Alexander Logan, stationed before Atlanta, Georgia, and again on November 6, 1864, by order of Maj.-Gen. P. Joseph Osterhaus, from headquarters in the field in Georgia. The war being over, Dr. Bond returned to his home at St. Louis, Missouri, where he resumed the practice of medicine. He had served with distinguished ability for nearly three years in that dreadful conflict.

On Thursday, June 18, 1896, Dr. Bond and wife celebrated their golden wedding, fifty years of married life, at St. Louis, Missouri, over three hundred invitations having been sent out to relatives and friends. It was a grand and brilliant affair, owing to the prominence and high social standing of the doctor and his estimable wife. They had also lived in northern Missouri and in Nebraska because of Dr. Bond's poor health. But finding that the summer heat at St. Louis, Missouri, greatly affected his delicate health, they removed to Bellingham, Whatcom County, Washington, in August, 1896, where Dr. Bond continued to reside until his death. The city of Bellingham in those earlier days

Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin Bond



Benjamin Bond
BROTHER OF GOVERNOR BOND

Thomas W. Bond
SURGEON 27TH ILL. VOLUNTEERS

was called New Whatcom. He practiced his profession until forced by the infirmities of old age to retire.

On Monday evening, June 18, 1906, Dr. Bond and wife were given a rousing reception at the Independent Order of Odd Fellows Hall on Commercial Street in their home city of Bellingham, Washington, it being the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of their marriage. It was largely attended, as five hundred invitations had been sent out. Seated at the end of the hall, Dr. Bond and his wife received hundreds of the most genuine congratulations possible. Judge Neterer made the address of congratulation, to which Dr. Bond responded in his usual happy vein. Addresses were also made by Rev. E. W. Erickson of the local Methodist Church; Rev. John Robertson Macartney of the First Presbyterian Church; Rev. William Orr Wark of the First Congregational Church; Rev. Maynard Thomson of the Fairhaven Presbyterian Church; A. E. W. Engberg, J. B. Abrams, and others.

Capt. C. A. Bond of Massachusetts, who was present especially for this event and who was a member of the Massachusetts Eighth Regiment, made an address in which he gave a resume of the Bond family. At the conclusion of the affair, Judge Neterer in behalf of the Masonic lodge presented Dr. Bond and wife with a package containing sixty dollars in gold, a dollar for each year of their wedded life. The doctors of the city of Bellingham also presented Dr. Bond with a gold-headed cane. The hall was beautifully decorated with flowers—mostly roses—for the occasion, breathing the same sentiment—affection and friendliness.

Said Mrs. Bond: "We are not society people. Had we been, probably we should not today be celebrating our sixtieth wedding anniversary, for the life is a trying and strenuous one. We are home people, and we love home life. Perhaps that is the secret of our happiness. We are not rich, but we are very happy."

Dr. Benjamin Nicodemus Bond often boasted of never having taken a drink of intoxicating liquor during his life. For twenty years prior to his final illness he refrained from smoking. He distinctly remembered even in his declining years, an acquaintanceship with Abraham Lincoln, the martyr President, whom he first met at his father's, Col. Shadrach Bond's house. In the days when the Emancipator was a circuit lawyer he made his headquarters at the Bond home.

Socially, Dr. Bond was a member of the Masonic lodge, and was the oldest member of that fraternity in the State of Washington at the time of his death. As a Mason he was a member of Bellingham Bay Lodge No. 44, A. F. and A. M. He was also a member of Bellingham Bay Lodge No. 31, Independent Order of Odd Fellows and belonged to Bellingham Bay Lodge No. 43, Daughters of Rebekah. He was also a member of J. B. Steedman Post No. 24, Grand Army of the Republic, because of having served with distinction throughout the Civil War, being regimental surgeon of the Twenty-seventh Regiment, Fifteenth Army Corp, Missouri Volunteer Infantry. Religiously he was a deacon of the Methodist Episcopal Church, holding membership with Trinity Church of Bellingham, Washington.

Dr. Benjamin Nicodemus Bond died at his home at 1514 Ellis Street, Bellingham, Washington, at 4:40 o'clock in the morning on Tuesday, February 28, 1911, at the advanced age of eighty-four years. He was confined to his bed for fourteen months preceding his death. His death, although due to the infirmities of old age was really caused by the injury he received in the accident on the railroad during the Civil War. He was survived by his widow who was two years his junior, she having been born October 8, 1828, and by three sons and one daughter. There were also twenty-one grandchildren and three great-grandchildren surviving him. Death came quietly, ending the eventful life on earth of a man whose youth was spent in the midst of stirring events of the early days of the country.

The funeral services were conducted at the Trinity Tabernacle, Methodist, at the corner of Garden and East Holly Streets, on Wednesday afternoon at 2 o'clock, March 1, 1911, under the auspices of the various organizations to which he belonged. The burial service was conducted by Bellingham Bay Masonic Lodge No. 44, A. F. and A. M. Rev. Earle Naftzger, pastor of the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church was the officiating clergyman. The funeral was one of the largest in the city of Bellingham. The remains were interred in Bay View Cemetery in that city. Dr. Bond and wife during the latter years of their life lived solely upon an inadequate pension which was granted him by the government because of his distinguished services in the Union Army during the Civil War. They had been married sixty-four years up to the death of Dr. Bond, and were just as devoted to each other in their old age as they were in their young days.

In April, 1905, nearly six years previous to his death, Dr. Bond was signally honored by the Chicago Historical Society of Chicago, Illinois, which elected himself and his wife to honorary membership in that society. Dr. Bond had in his possession a couple of family portraits of his father and mother, Col. Shadrach Bond and wife, painted in the year 1812 by Charles Stuart, the famous artist and portrait painter of that day.

These valuable heirlooms Dr. Bond had been keeping at the request of his mother, who asked him on her death bed to cherish the portraits until they could be given to some museum, or society, which would preserve them. At the time Dr. Bond was elected to honorary membership of the Chicago Historical Society, the portraits were sent by him to that body to be preserved by them in their own galleries, and now adorn the walls of the main room of that society.

The portraits are considered valuable on the market as excellent examples of the work of Stuart. Dr. Bond had refused many offers for them and just previous to their presentment to the Chicago Historical Society, the representative of a St. Louis, Missouri, dealer, offered a very liberal sum for the two family portraits. True to his promise and trust, Dr. Bond refused this offer also. At the same time he also presented the Chicago Historical Society with a portrait of his uncle, Benjamin Bond, a brother of the Governor, prominent in public life in Illinois, also painted by the artist Charles Stuart. These heirlooms Dr. Bond had guarded for sixty years, or more than half a century.

The widow of Dr. Benjamin Nicodemus Bond survived him nearly two years. She had passed her girlhood years at Chester, Randolph County, Illinois, and gone westward in old age. She died at Bellingham, Washington, on the evening of Saturday, January 25, 1913, aged eighty-four years. In September, 1912, she suffered a slight stroke of paralysis but soon recovered from the physical effects. But the mental effects remained until her demise. She really died from old age and from the ills that accompany extreme old age. There was no acute disease, simply a general decline of the entire system.

But let us now return to the life of Col. Shadrach Bond, the first Governor of Illinois. Although striving to earn a livelihood as an agriculturist in that remote period, still he was early called into public life in Illinois. His uncle, Shadrach Bond, Sr., had on January 3, 1805, been elected one of the two Delegates from St. Clair County to the First General Assembly of Indiana Territory. Illinois was then included in Indiana Territory and St. Clair was a County in Illinois. But having been appointed as a member of the Legislative Council, or upper house, a deserved promotion, he resigned his position as a Delegate in the Territorial Assembly. In May, 1805, his nephew, Col. Shadrach Bond, was elected to fill the vacancy. He was then thirty-one years of age and this was his first public position. Col. Bond's colleague from St. Clair County was William Biggs. Dr. George Fisher represented Randolph County in this Territorial Assembly.

The first session of the Assembly convened at Vincennes, Indiana Territory, February 7, 1805, and on July 29, 1805, the adjourned regular session began. This session was attended by Col. Bond, recently chosen to the vacancy caused by his uncle's promotion and resignation. The second session of the Territorial Assembly convened August 17, 1807, Bond and Biggs representing St. Clair County, and Fisher representing Randolph County.

A special session of the Territorial Assembly was called to meet on September 27, 1808, for to consider the question of dividing the territory. Col. Pierre Menard from Randolph County and John Hay from St. Clair County having resigned as members of the Legislative Council, Col. Shadrach Bond, and Dr. George Fisher, Delegates, or members of the lower House, were appointed to fill the vacancies thus created. Col. Bond succeeded John Hay. This promotion was a deserved recognition of his activities in the early territorial government. A special election being ordered in these two counties, resulted in the choice of Rice Jones from Randolph County and John Messenger from St. Clair County, the latter succeeding Col. Bond, who had been promoted.

Jesse Burgess Thomas, the member of the House from Dearborn County, Indiana, was the Speaker of that body. On the admission of Illinois as a State, having removed thereto, he was elected as one of the first two United States Senators from the new State. The issue of territorial division was acted on favorably by this Territorial Assembly, and Illinois and Indiana became separate territories by Act of Congress of February 3, 1809. In the deliberations of the Territorial Legislative Council, Col. Bond took a very active part. He had opposed the separa-

tion of Illinois and Indiana, and had fought for the two territories remaining as then, the one territory of Indiana Territory.

He had served in the lower House, or as a Delegate, from May, 1805 to February 1, 1808, or three years, succeeding his uncle, Shadrach Bond, Sr., and being succeeded on his promotion and resignation by John Messenger, later the first Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, after the admission of Illinois Territory as a State. Col. Bond had served in the upper branch, or Territorial Legislative Council, from February 1, 1808, until February 3, 1809, when Illinois became a separate Territory, or a service of one year, succeeding John Hay. This maiden legislative service in both branches of the Territorial Assembly of Indiana Territory was of great value to him in the succeeding public positions he occupied in the newly formed territory of Illinois, and also after its admission as a State. His entire territorial legislative experience covered nearly four years of service.

While serving in this Territorial General Assembly in Indiana Territory, representing Illinois in that body, Col. Bond became involved in an affair which although bloodless at first finally ended in a tragedy. This was the Jones-Bond duel which originated at Kaskaskia in the autumn of 1808. Rice Jones was the son of John Rice Jones, the first English-speaking lawyer in the "Illinois Country," and also a brother of Gen. George Wallace Jones, one of the first two United States Senators from Iowa. Rice Jones was an exceptionally brilliant young man who, having studied law located at Kaskaskia, Illinois, in 1806. He gave promise of becoming eminent in public life.

In the autumn of 1808, he became a candidate for Delegate, or Representative from Randolph County, in the General Assembly of Indiana Territory, of which Illinois was a part. Dr. George Fisher had been promoted to the upper House and had resigned his position in the lower body. At the special election held in September, 1808, Jones was elected to fill the vacancy by a party known as "Divisionists"—that is he was in favor of the division of the Territory—which proved successful in the organization of Illinois Territory the following year. Col. Bond, who had been promoted to the Territorial Legislative Council, was opposed to a division of Indiana Territory and was against the candidacy of Rice Jones.

In the course of this canvass Col. Bond and Rice Jones became involved in a quarrel regarding this political controversy of the day—of division or not—and much bitterness was engendered. Col. Bond challenged Jones to fight a duel and the latter accepted, pistols being the weapons agreed upon. The meeting or duel took place on an island in the Mississippi River between Kaskaskia, Illinois, and St. Genevieve, Missouri. Col. Bond chose as his second, Dr. James Dunlap, of Kaskaskia, who was a bitter enemy of Jones. After Bond and Jones had taken their positions and preliminary to the order of "fire" the pistol of Jones, a hair-trigger, was accidentally discharged. This raised the question whether it was accidental or to be regarded as Jones' fire. Dr. Dunlap, Col. Bond's second, promptly declared it a "fire" and insisted upon the right of his principal to return it.

Col. Bond however accepted the explanation of his adversary that the discharge was accidental and with characteristic magnanimity, at once exclaimed "it was an accident," refusing to take advantage of a purely technical right, even at the hazard of his life, declaring that Jones was entitled to the stipulated shot. This magnanimity on the part of Bond led to an honorable adjustment of the quarrel and explanations followed that averted a final exchange of shots. The feud thus started between Jones and Dr. Dunlap at this meeting grew until it involved a large part of the community.

On December 7, 1808, Dr. Dunlap shot down Jones in cold blood, firing at his victim from behind and killing him instantly. This without warning, in an unprovoked and a most cowardly manner. This act of a demon occurred on the streets of Kaskaskia. The murderer escaped the vengeance of the indignant citizens of Kaskaskia by flight to Texas and was never brought to justice or heard of about Kaskaskia afterwards. This incident furnishes the basis of the most graphic chapter in Mrs. Mary Hartwell Catherwood's story of "Old Kaskaskia." Prompted by this tragical affair no doubt, the Governor and Territorial Judges of Illinois Territory in 1810 framed a stringent law for the suppression of dueling in which case of a fatal result all parties connected with the affair, as principal or seconds were held to be guilty of murder.

On June 19, 1812, the Congress of the United States declared war against Great Britain. This was the second conflict with England and her allies. Col. Shadrach Bond enlisted as a soldier from Illinois Territory in the United States Army in this war. He was a member of the force which defended the country's capital of Washington, D. C., whenever that point was threatened by the British. He rose from the ranks to be Captain of a company, and later was brevetted a Colonel for bravery and meritorious conduct. He was a daring soldier in the War of 1812 and acquitted himself with honor on the battlefield. The result of this war was the defeat of the British forces and since then Great Britain has never engaged in a war with the United States. Col. Bond never had much to say in regard to his military life.

On October 8, 9, and 10, 1812, for three days, the first general election in the recently organized Illinois Territory was held, while the War of 1812, or the second war with Great Britain, was in progress. The election was quietly conducted owing to the fact that the people felt a greater interest in the war with Great Britain. Col. Shadrach Bond, who had been very active in the public life of Indiana Territory and because of such activities enjoyed an extensive acquaintance, became a candidate for the office of Delegate to Congress. He was easily elected and therefore became the first Delegate to Congress from the new Territory of Illinois. This office was considered at that time as it has been later as a desirable position; but not so because of the salary of the office —which was but eight dollars per day and mileage, the annual session averaging about 140 days—nor because Washington, D. C., was within easy reach, or an attractive place of residence. The mode of travel was on horse-back and by stage-coaches, and it required thirty-five days to make the trip from Kaskaskia to Washington City. Washington then contained only a few houses, and these so far separated as to entitle the

incipient city, to the sobriquet of "the city of magnificent distances," which it has maintained to this day.

He departed from Washington and took his seat in the Twelfth Congress on December 3, 1812, being then thirty-nine years of age. This was the second session of that Congress which had convened November 2, 1812, and which continued in session until its *sine die* adjournment on March 3, 1813, being in session 122 days. James Madison, of Virginia, was President of the United States at that time and William Harris Crawford of Georgia, was President *pro tempore* of the United States Senate and acting Vice-President of the United States because of the death of the Vice-President, Gen. George Clinton, of New York, who died April 20, 1812. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, of which Col. Bond was a member as Territorial Delegate from Illinois Territory.

In this second session of the Twelfth Congress, among the many distinguished statesmen with whom Col. Bond served in the House of Representatives were the following: Stevenson Archer, Sr., of Maryland; Dr. William Wyatt Bibb of Georgia, later the first Governor of Alabama; Dr. Josiah Bartlett of New Hampshire, son of the first Governor of New Hampshire by the same name; John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina, later Vice-President of the United States; Langdon Cheves of South Carolina; Martin Chittenden of Vermont, later Governor of that State; Henry Clay of Kentucky, the Speaker of that body; Capt. Howell Cobb of Georgia; Thomas R. Gold of New York; Charles Washington Goldsborough of Maryland, later Governor of that State; Felix Grundy of Tennessee, later United States Senator from that State and also Attorney General of the United States; Jonathan Jennings of Indiana Territory, the first Governor of that State after its admission into the Union; Col. Richard Mentor Johnson of Kentucky, later Vice-President of the United States; William Rufus King of North Carolina, later United States Senator from Alabama and also Vice-President of the United States; Col. Robert LeRoy Livingston of New York; Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives; Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell of New York, formerly a United States Senator from that State; Jeremiah Morrow of Ohio, later Governor of that State; Israel Pickens of North Carolina, later the third Governor of Alabama; James Pleasants of Virginia, later Governor of that State; George Poindexter of Mississippi Territory, later the second Governor of that State after its admission into the Union; Gen. Peter Buel Porter of New York, later Secretary of War of the United States; Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts; John Randolph of Virginia, later United States Senator from Virginia and also Minister to Russia; Henry Moore Ridgely of Delaware, later United States Senator from that State; Thomas Bolling Robertson of Louisiana, later Governor of that State; Gen. John Sevier of Tennessee, formerly Governor of that State; William Strong of Vermont; Gen. Benjamin Tallmadge of Connecticut; George McIntosh Troup of Georgia, later Governor of that State; Pierre Van Cortland of New York; William Widgery of Massachusetts, and Gen. David Rogerson Williams of South Carolina, later Governor of that State.

Col. Bond therefore served with a galaxy of statesmen in this early period which has hardly been equaled in the annals of United States history. This Twelfth Congress was known as the "War Congress," having declared war against Great Britain about six months prior to Col. Bond's entry into the House of Representatives. He had left the army and the battlefield to enter Congress. It was at the time he was a Delegate in Congress in 1812 that Col. Bond had portraits of himself and wife painted by Charles Stuart, the famous artist and portrait painter of that day, which are reproduced in this volume. This same year of 1812 was a troublous year in Illinois, and fear of Indian outrages, and also the strained relations with Great Britain caused his wife to join him at Washington, D. C. To do this she was obliged to make the journey from Illinois to Washington on horse-back, a difficult undertaking indeed for one woman, and alone, in a still semi-wild country, but she was not lacking in nerve. They had been married only two years at this time.

After Col. Bond took his seat in the Twelfth Congress the more important legislative acts of that body during that session were the following:

On January 2, 1813, Congress appropriated two and one-half million dollars to build four 74-gun ships and six 44-gun ships in order to strengthen the navy of the United States for this war.

On February 16, 1813, Congress limited the total strength of the army to 58,000, the report of the Adjutant-General showing there was a force of 18,945 at that time including the staff and regimental officers.

On February 27, 1813, Congress passed an act to encourage vaccination and an agent was to be appointed to keep and dispense genuine vaccine matter for public use. The smallpox had been prevalent in various sections of the country for some time previously.

On March 3, 1813, the day of the final adjournment of the Twelfth Congress, an act was passed in which the President of the United States was vested with power of retaliation on British subjects, soldiers or Indians.

Col. Bond, when elected in October, 1812, as Delegate to Congress from Illinois Territory for the short term in the Twelfth Congress, was at the same time also elected for the long, or full term, in the Thirteenth Congress. But he did not serve out the full term of two years in that Congress. James Madison of Virginia had been re-elected as President of the United States and was entering upon his second term. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, the newly elected Vice President of the United States, was the presiding officer in the Senate.

In this Thirteenth Congress Col. Bond served in the House of Representatives with the following distinguished members, with whom he had also served in the Twelfth Congress: Stevenson Archer, Sr., of Maryland, Dr. William Wyatt Bibb of Georgia, John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina, Langdon Cheves of South Carolina, Henry Clay of Kentucky, Charles Washington Goldsborough of Maryland, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, Jonathan Jennings of Indiana Territory, Col. Richard Mentor Johnson of Kentucky, William Rufus King of North Carolina, Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, Israel Pickens of North Carolina, James Pleasants of Virginia, Henry Moore Ridgely of Dela-

ware, Thomas Bolling Robertson of Louisiana, Gen. John Sevier of Tennessee, William Strong of Vermont, Gen. Benjamin Tallmadge of Connecticut, and George McIntosh Troup of Georgia.

He also served with the following new members in this Thirteenth Congress: Philip Pendleton Barbour of Virginia, later Speaker of the House of Representatives and also Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Newton Cannon of Tennessee, later Governor of that State; Bradbury Cilley of New Hampshire; John Forsyth of Georgia, later Governor of that State and also Secretary of State of the United States; Alexander Contee Hanson of Maryland, later United States Senator from that State; Charles Jared Ingersoll of Pennsylvania; John McLean of Ohio, later Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Col. Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts, formerly Secretary of War and also Secretary of State of the United States; Richard Stockton of New Jersey, formerly United States Senator from that State; John W. Taylor of New York, later Speaker of the House of Representatives; Artemas Ward, Jr., of Massachusetts and Daniel Webster of New Hampshire, who entered on his first term in Congress and later was United States Senator from Massachusetts and also Secretary of State of the United States.

The first session of the Thirteenth Congress, which was an extra session called by President Madison, convened May 24, 1813, and adjourned August 2, 1813, being in session seventy-one days. Henry Clay of Kentucky was elected a second time as Speaker of the House of Representatives. At this session the more important acts passed by Congress were the following:

On August 2, 1813, Congress authorized a loan of seven and one-half million dollars to carry on the war with Great Britain. And also on the same day Congress levied a direct tax of three million dollars. There were at that time eighteen States in the Union, and of these New York was assessed the most at $430,141.62, while Louisiana was assessed the least at $28,295.11. Congress adjourned the same day.

The second session of the Thirteenth Congress convened December 6, 1813, and adjourned April 18, 1814, being in session 134 days. On January 19, 1814, Speaker Clay resigned as Speaker of the House of Representatives, having been appointed as United States Peace Commissioner, and Langdon Cheves of South Carolina was chosen as Speaker to succeed him for the remainder of the term in the Thirteenth Congress. At this second session the more important acts passed by Congress were the following:

On December 17, 1813, an act establishing an embargo until January 1, 1815.

On March 24, 1814, Congress authorized a loan of twenty-five million dollars and an issue of treasury notes for ten million dollars.

On April 18, 1814, Congress authorized the purchase of the British vessels captured on Lake Erie on September 10, 1813, for $255,000, to be distributed in prize money among the captors; Capt. Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of that conflict, was to be paid five thousand dollars in addition. On the same date Congress authorized the collection and

preservation of flags, standards, and colors, captured by the land or naval forces of the United States.

On January 24, 1814, a resolution for the appointment of a commission to investigate the Blue Lights, relative to the war, was tabled in Congress. On April 14, 1814, Congress repealed the embargo act. On January 14, 1814, Daniel Webster made his first speech in the House of Representatives on the enlistment bill.

On September 19, 1814, the third session of the Thirteenth Congress was convened, but this session was not attended by Col. Bond, as he resigned his seat in Congress on October 3, 1814, having been appointed as Receiver of Public Moneys at Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory, by President Madison. His service in Congress was now at an end. He had been associated in the House of Representatives with some of the greatest statesmen that the United States and the world had produced.

As Territorial Delegate he had the right to take part in the debates in Congress, but had no right to vote. Nevertheless Col. Bond took a leading and active interest in legislation and in matters regarding the war. He faithfully represented the interests of his constituents, securing the passage of the law providing for raising and equipping three companies of rangers for the protection of the infant settlements in Illinois Territory. And especially was he entitled to great credit for securing the passage in 1813 of the first preemption law of Illinois Territory, allowing settlers to preempt land, which proved to be a very popular measure, effecting most desirable results. He was the father of this right of preemption on the public domain law, and it gave the preference in land sales to actual settlers. Under these more favorable conditions immigrants began to locate in Illinois Territory quite rapidly, especially from the southern border States and from Pennsylvania.

Col. Bond served as Territorial Delegate to Congress from December 3, 1812, to October 3, 1814, or almost two years. He had served a part of a term in each of two Congresses and was succeeded as Territorial Delegate by Col. Benjamin Stephenson of Edwardsville, who was elected to fill out the unexpired term. The office of Territorial Delegate seemed to be prized rather for the opportunity it afforded to secure what were then regarded as higher posts of honor; in other words, as a stepping stone to other positions of influence, emolument and power. And among these fortunate ones was Col. Bond, nominated for the office of Receiver of Public Moneys long before the expiration of his term in Congress. The office of Receiver was one of the best paying positions in the Territory.

The relationship of the territories to the general government also clothed the office of Territorial Delegate with unusual importance at this time. Troops to aid in the defense of the settlements were to be raised, organized, equipped, and paid. And questions relating to land titles were yet unadjusted and required attention. In regard to all these matters Col. Bond rendered laborious and able service. At this time he belonged to the Democratic-Republican party, of which Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe were the leaders. And the Democratic-Republican party had control of both branches of the Twelfth and Thirteenth

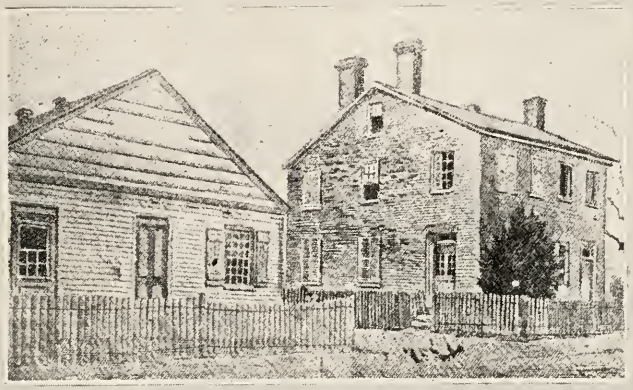
Congresses in which he served. The War of 1812 was still in progress when Col. Bond left Washington, the capital, to take up his new duties as Receiver of Public Moneys at Kaskaskia. And he had been strongly in favor of that war.

In order to take charge of his new office, Col. Bond decided it was better to move to Kaskaskia, which was then the capital of Illinois Territory. He therefore disposed of and removed from his farm in the "New Design" district in St. Clair County, which is now Monroe County, in the autumn of 1814, to another farm about a mile west of Kaskaskia, Randolph County, Illinois. On this model farm which he had purchased, in sight of that ancient village of Kaskaskia, he erected a large, and as was thought at that early period, palatial brick residence, where he spent the remaining years of his life. The brick in this residence was made on his farm and was the first brick made in Illinois. It was also one of the first brick residences in Illinois.

Meanwhile let us briefly allude to a few minor positions he held previously to his election as Territorial Delegate, and while still a resident of what was then St. Clair County. On May 3, 1809, he was appointed by Nathaniel Pope, then Secretary of Illinois Territory, as Lieutenant-Colonel commandant of militia in St. Clair County, which office he held for some time. On December 9, 1809, Col. Bond was appointed as a justice of the peace of St. Clair County by Ninian Edwards, the Governor of Illinois Territory. He graced this office with becoming judicial dignity. These offices he held previous to his marriage. On March 7, 1812, he was appointed as aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief of the territorial militia by Ninian Edwards, the Governor of Illinois Territory, who was the commander-in-chief. Governor Edwards took the field in person that year against the hostile Indians, who had committed many outrages in the Territory. Col. Bond took an active part also. On April 4, 1812, he was appointed as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for St. Clair County by Governor Edwards. As a territorial jurist he acquitted himself with honor, though he had never made a study of the law nor mastered it, but used his legislative experience and good common sense to advantage in his interpretation of the law and in his decisions.

His appointment as Receiver of Public Moneys at Kaskaskia on October 3, 1814, by President Madison was confirmed. In this office Col. Bond handled moneys received from the sales of government lands in the Territory and also revenues from other sources. The Register and Receiver had the full power to receive and adjudicate land claims, and these were classified in four groups: First, ancient grants; second, donation; third, improvement claims; and fourth, militia claims.

Naturally, the age of these claims and difficulty attending their proof opened wide the door to fraudulent speculators. The assignment of a claim frequently implied as a necessary adjunct the production of a perjured deposition to establish it. Signatures to deeds and assignments were frequently forged, and in these questionable transactions some of the leading citizens of Kaskaskia were implicated. Col. Bond was acting as Register of the Land Office when the final report on the settlement of these claims was made. In this office, as well as the previous



Kaskaskia Land Office ~ Kaskaskia Bank

Governor Bond's home in Kaskaskia

public positions he had held, he was a credit to the Territory and the Government.

Nathaniel Pope having been elected as Delegate to Congress from Illinois Territory late in the year 1816, resigned his position as Secretary of the Territory in December, 1816. Col. Bond became a candidate for the position of Secretary of the Territory and requested the support of the Territorial Governor, Ninian Edwards, which was refused; and from this time the antagonism between these two distinguished men marked more plainly the dividing line between their respective adherents. From this time also dates the formation of the first two political parties in Illinois, organized for the purpose of obtaining control of the government following the admission of the State. One was the Bond party and the other the Edwards party, but both these parties were factions within the Democratic party. Capt. Joseph Phillips was appointed as Secretary of the Territory, and after the admission of Illinois as a State, became the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. Col. Bond was very much disappointed at not being appointed as Territorial Secretary.

In the year 1817 Col. Bond, in company with John G. Comyges, Thomas H. Harris, Charles Slade, Col. Michael Jones, Warren Brown, Col. Edward Humphreys, and Maj. Charles W. Hunter, became a proprietor of the site of the initial city of Cairo, which they hoped from its favorable location at the junction of the two great rivers, the Ohio and the Mississippi, near the center of the great West, would rapidly develop into a metropolis. To aid the enterprise they obtained a special charter from the Territorial Legislature, incorporating both the city and the Bank of Cairo. Cairo, Illinois, was therefore incorporated on January 9, 1818, by the Third General Assembly of Illinois Territory, three days previous to its final adjournment. Col. Bond was very influential in these enterprises. This company also entered about 1,800 acres of land, but upon the death of Mr. Comyges the land reverted to the National Government. Cairo became the county seat of Alexander County and was the most important river point between St. Louis, Missouri, and Memphis, Tennessee.

In January, 1818, the Territorial General Assembly sent a petition to Congress asking for the admission of Illinois as a State, Nathaniel Pope being Delegate to Congress at that time. On April 18, 1818, Congress passed the Enabling Act, giving the people of Illinois the right to form a Constitution. An important incident in this connection was the amendment of the act, making the parallel of 42° 30′ from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River the northern boundary, instead of a line extending from the southern extremity of the lake. This was obtained through the influence of Nathaniel Pope, and by it Illinois secured a strip of country fifty-one miles in width, from the lake to the Mississippi River, embracing what have since become fourteen of the most populous counties of the State, including the city of Chicago.

In July, 1818, was held an election for delegates to a convention to frame a State Constitution for Illinois. The Constitutional Convention convened at Kaskaskia, August 3, 1818, and framed a State Constitution, being in session three weeks. This convention was composed

of thirty-three delegates elected by the people, chiefly farmers, there being only five lawyers among them, namely: Jesse Burgess Thomas, the president of the convention; James Hall, Adolphus Frederick Hubbard, Joseph Kitchell, and Elias Kent Kane, the latter being the leading spirit in this convention. The Constitution was adopted on the day of adjournment, August 26, 1818, and a copy of the instrument was immediately transmitted to Congress for approval.

The Constitution, which was modeled largely upon the Constitutions of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, was not submitted to a vote of the people. Objection was made to its acceptance by Congress on the ground that the population of Illinois Territory was insufficient and that the prohibition of slavery was not as explicit as required by the Ordinance of 1787; but these arguments were overcome and the document accepted by a vote of 117 yeas and 34 nays in Congress.

By the provisions of the Constitution of 1818 the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Sheriff, Coroner, and County Commissioners were the only officers to be elected by the people. The Secretary of State, State Treasurer, State Auditor of Public Accounts, Attorney-General, Public Printer, County, Circuit, and Supreme Court Judges, Prosecuting Attorneys, Recorders, and Justices of the Peace were all to be appointed by the Governor, or to be elected by the General Assembly. It was not yet deemed advisable to place too much power in the hands of the people; for they were not even permitted to have a voice in the adoption of their fundamental law, no provision being made for the submission of the Constitution to popular ratification or rejection.

The most objectionable feature of this first State Constitution was the vesting of the General Assembly with the appointing power. As originally framed, this power was committed to the chief executive, but as it was expected that Col. Shadrach Bond would be elected Governor, and that he would not appoint Col. Elijah Conway Berry as the first State Auditor of Public Accounts, who was the choice of the members of this Constitutional Convention, a provision was inserted in the schedule that "an Auditor of Public Accounts, an Attorney-General, and such other officers of the State as may be necessary, may be appointed by the General Assembly." And thus the Convention as it stood vested a very large appointing power in the Governor; but for this purpose of getting one man into office, a total change was made, and the power vested in the General Assembly. And of this provision the General Assembly took advantage and declared that State's Attorneys, Canal Commissioners, Bank Directors, etc., were all "officers of the State," and must therefore be appointed by itself, independently of the Governor.

Whenever it happened that the Governor was not in accord with the General Assembly, it had the power, and willingly deprived him of his patronage. At this time Illinois comprised but fifteen counties as follows: Bond, Crawford, Edwards, Franklin, Gallatin, Jackson, Johnson, Madison, Monroe, Pope, Randolph, St. Clair, Union, Washington, and White, the northern portion of the State being mainly in Madison County. Col. Bond was therefore honored by the naming of a county in his honor before he was elected as Governor of Illinois. Bond County was established January 4, 1817, more than a year before his election

as Governor, and was taken from a part of Madison County, the county seat being Greenville. Such were the circumstances under which Illinois was admitted as the twenty-first State into the Union on December 3, 1818.

Indians were troublesome still, and a great deal of the land acquired from them was as yet a part of the national domain. Many of the early settlers had come from Kentucky and Tennessee. Nearly all of the people of the new State were engaged in farming of a truly primitive nature. They were of the simplest in type and simplicity ruled. Along the Ohio River there were a number of salt works, but there were no manufactures of any significance in the new commonwealth. There were a few merchants but trade was exceedingly limited. As a rule families supplied their own needs in food, in clothing, and in a little furniture. The few towns there were contained a very limited number of inhabitants. Money there was none. Only a few public roads had been laid out, no railroads, no rural routes of any importance, no interurban lines, no telegraph or telephone systems, and navigation in its remotest state. There were no splashy automobiles, no airships, no football gridirons, and no baseball parks. The few schools and schoolmasters were very crude indeed. These were truly pioneer times but from this small beginning was builded one of the grandest States in the Union.

The first State election was near at hand. For the office of Governor only one name had for some time loomed up, Col. Shadrach Bond, of Kaskaskia. And for Lieutenant Governor likewise, only one gentleman had been mentioned, Col. Pierre Menard, also of Kaskaskia. The popularity of these men had made their promotion to the chief offices of the new State, even before the State Constitution was drafted, a foregone conclusion.

The first State election for State officers under the new Constitution was held in Illinois on the third Thursday, and the following two days in September, 1818, or September 17, 18, and 19, 1818. Only two State officers, Governor and Lieutenant Governor were made elective under the first State Constitution, the General Assembly electing all the other State officers, with the exception of Secretary of State, who was appointed by the Governor. In this first State election, held more than two months before the admission of Illinois as a State into the Union, there were two factions, very powerful at that, each seeking for laurels and for complete control.

There was but one political party in Illinois at this early period, as all were members of the Democratic party, with Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, in later years President of the United States as their idol. But there were two strong factions within the ranks of the Democratic party, one known as the Edwards faction, with the Territorial Governor, Ninian Edwards, as their leader, and the other known as the Bond faction, under the leadership of Col. Shadrach Bond, former Delegate to Congress from Illinois Territory. Both were striving for the control of the new State government.

Ninian Edwards desired to be United States Senator, and Col. Bond also had an ambition to represent the new State in Congress. Previous

to this first State election, however, a truce had been agreed upon between the warring factions, by the terms of which Col. Shadrach Bond was to be elected Governor, and Ninian Edwards, a United States Senator. Col. Bond was not a candidate for Governor for he had no desire to serve in such a capacity. The honor came to him unsolicited and he only consented in order to pacify the Edwards faction. Col. Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia, Randolph County, likewise was agreed upon as the choice for Lieutenant Governor.

Therefore, when election day finally dawned, Col. Shadrach Bond, of Kaskaskia, Randolph County, had no opposition for the office of Governor. And likewise Col. Pierre Menard, also of Kaskaskia, Randolph County, was the only active candidate for Lieutenant Governor. They were both elected to their respective offices nearly unanimously. Col. Bond was the only Governor of Illinois who was elected without opposition in the history of the State. The exact vote he received is not really known as there is no record now, but it was only a few thousand votes because of the fact that Illinois had but a small number of voters at this initial election. And Col. Bond and Senator Edwards carried out the agreement of their compromise, both playing the game of politics cleverly even at that remote period.

At this same election, two young and talented lawyers, Daniel Pope Cook, of Kaskaskia, Randolph County, and John McLean of Shawneetown, Gallatin County, were the rival candidates for Representative in Congress. Cook belonged to the Edwards faction while McLean was a member of the Bond element. They engaged in debates on the slavery question throughout the various counties in the State, McLean being on the side of slavery and Cook on that of freedom. McLean was successful in this election by the small majority of fourteen votes. This was the only office where there was any real rivalry.

Both Bond and Menard were anti-slavery advocates, although early historians have recorded Col. Bond as a pro-slavery adherent which is incorrect. This was denied by his son, Dr. Benjamin Nicodemus Bond. Both Bond and Menard were slave-holders, but both were opposed to slavery. Senator Edwards was also a slave-holder, but of course slave-holding was the style of the day at that primitive period.

There were no Whig and Republican parties at that time, as politics then and for a number of years following were entirely one-sided. No one in the year 1818 had ever had a dream of the future existence of such parties as the Populist, Prohibition, Greenback, Socialist, and Progressive. Party politics then were not dominated by petty bosses or political machines, even though the rival factions had leaders like Col. Bond and Senator Edwards. These men were statesmen as well as political leaders, and not mere manipulators. Party politics then were pure, simple and honest, without any individual rule, coercion or corruption.

At this election the voters knew nothing of our refined Australian system of voting, of voting booths, of primaries, or of woman suffrage. Nor did they know of such an act as ballot-box stuffing, election frauds, and padded returns. And in the election of 1818 it was also a striking coincidence, that the first Governor and Lieutenant Governor should

MENARD HOUSE

come from the same city, as they lived only a mile apart, and that city should also happen to be the capital of the State. And Senator Edwards also resided there when first elected as United States Senator. That city in southwestern Illinois had a monopoly on the important offices at that time, and southern Illinois held a mortgage on the same. Northern Illinois was very thinly settled then.

Governor Bond was a prosperous farmer residing near the city of Kaskaskia, while Lieutenant Governor Menard was a wealthy merchant in Kaskaskia. As a farmer, Governor Bond traded his farm produce for merchandise at the Lieutenant Governor's store. They had but a few steps to walk to their offices at Kaskaskia, where they administered their duties, and guided the new ship of state over the ruffled waves.

Governor Bond was very fortunate in his appointment of Elias Kent Kane, of Kaskaskia, who later became United States Senator from Illinois, as Secretary of State, of whose able assistance he freely availed himself in the preparation of his State papers. Kane remained as Secretary of State during the four-year term to which Governor Bond was elected and was the life of the administration. The two became fast friends and this friendship was severed only by death.

The principal political issues at this first election were, local, or "internal improvements" as they were called, State banks, location of the capital, slavery, and the personal characteristics of the proposed candidates. And able men were placed at the helm to guide the infant State over the ocean wave, upon its initiative course on the stormy and troubled waters.

The First General Assembly of Illinois, composed of fourteen Senators and twenty-eight Representatives, convened at Kaskaskia, Illinois, October 5, 1818. Kaskaskia which had been the Territorial capital was also the first State capital. The so-called State House in which the body assembled, and which had been previously occupied by the Territorial Legislature was built of limestone, surmounted by a gambrel roof of unpainted boards and shingles, in which were placed dormer-windows. The lower floor was fitted up for the House, and the chamber above for the Senate. John Messenger was chosen as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Thomas Reynolds, later Governor of Missouri, and a younger brother of John Reynolds, the fourth Governor of Illinois, was chosen as Clerk.

On the following day, October 6, 1818, Col. Shadrach Bond was inaugurated as the first Governor of Illinois. He delivered a brief and unpretentious inaugural address, touching on the change from a territorial to a statehood form of government, and also the aims of the first State administration. His inaugural address was unlike the addresses of the present day where some conceived needed reform is strongly urged. Although Col. Bond addressed a large grathering on this occasion because of the launching of a new State, still there was no pomp, parade or military display at his inaugural. It was very simple indeed.

Governor Bond's message to this First General Assembly shortly after his inaugural was a modest, brief, and clearly written document. After acknowledging his obligations to the people for their confidence and support, he referred to the depleted condition of the treasury and

the necessity of providing means to meet the expenses of the State Government. He recommended a revision of the laws and called attention to the subject of education, remarking that "it is our imperious duty, for the faithful performance of which we are amenable to God and our country, to watch over this interesting subject." He advised that provision for the leasing of the salt springs should be made; and urged upon the attention of the Legislature the importance of a canal to connect Lake Michigan with the Illinois River. His message devoutly closed as follows: "And may that Almighty Being from whose goodness and bounty all the blessings we enjoy have emanated, be present in your councils, and bless the measures of your adoption."

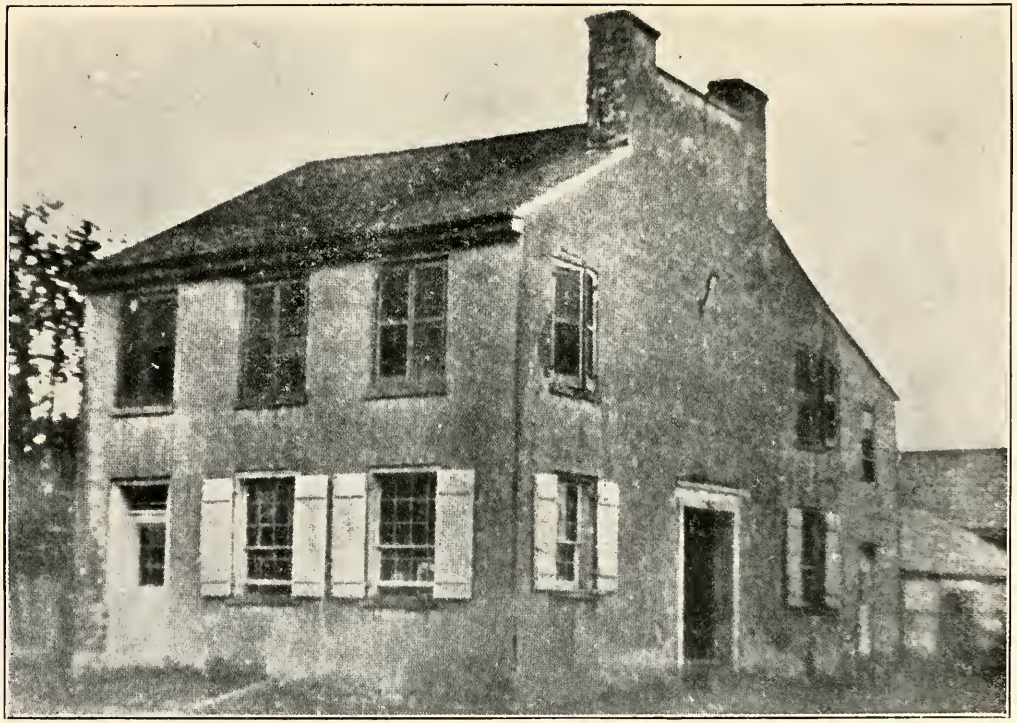
After the delivery of Governor Bond's inaugural address on October 6, 1818, the First General Assembly at once proceeded to elect two United States Senators to represent Illinois, and the remaining State officers and Judges of the State Supreme Court, the latter to serve also as Circuit Judges. Ninian Edwards, the Territorial Governor, was elected as United States Senator on the first ballot, and Jesse Burgess Thomas as the other United States Senator on the third ballot. In the legal lottery in Congress, Senator Edwards drew the short term.

John Thomas was elected as State Treasurer, Col. Elijah Conway Berry as State Auditor, and Daniel Pope Cook, who had been defeated for Congress by fourteen votes in the first State election, was elected as Attorney-General. Capt. Joseph Phillips was chosen as Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, and the Associate Justices elected were Thomas C. Browne, William P. Foster, and John Reynolds, the latter a future Governor of Illinois.

Further than the election of these officers, the First General Assembly did not propose to proceed until the result of the application to Congress for the admission of the State had been ascertained; and after a session of eight days the body adjourned on October 13, 1818, to meet the following January. Illinois was admitted as a State into the Union on December 3, 1818. It was the eighth new State added to the old original thirteen, and assumed its position as the twenty-first State in the sisterhood of the United States of America.

Governor Bond had been inaugurated two months previous to the admission of Illinois as a State. And the First General Assembly had also convened and had elected United States Senators and State officers two months previous to the admission of Illinois as a State.

At the reassembling of the First General Assembly, January 4, 1819, lawmaking began in earnest. A code was adopted which for the most part was copied from the statutes of Virginia and Kentucky, including the law concerning negroes and mulattoes, so long continued on the statute books of Illinois. Elias Kent Kane, who, in addition to his duties as Secretary of State, acted as clerk of the Judiciary Committee, was the compiler of the greater portion of these laws, in the performance of which task he manifested great care and intelligence. This code, however, in its entirety, had but a very short and feeble existence. Its provisions were altered by each succeeding General Assembly.



CAPITOL AT KASKASKIA

The revenue law enacted provided for the raising of money for State purposes by taxing the lands of non-residents, which were divided into three classes, whose respective values were fixed in the act at two, three, and four dollars per acre. County revenue was to be derived from taxation of personal property and real estate of residents. The penalties affixed to specified offenses by the code of the Territory were all re-enacted, including those of whipping, confinement in the stocks and pillories, as well as that of death by hanging, for the crimes of rape, arson, horse stealing, and murder.

Not the least important of the acts passed at this session was that providing for the removal of the seat of government. Kaskaskia, the leading commercial town of the State at that time, and the most populous, as well as the most readily accessible by steam navigation and post roads, might have remained the capital had it not been that some of its most influential citizens had become interested in a project for making money out of the choice of a new location.

At this second session five commissioners were appointed to select a new site for the State capital. What is now the city of Vandalia, Fayette County, was selected. As required by law, the commissioners proceeded to erect a temporary building to be used as a State house or capitol building; it was a two-story frame of the plainest of architecture. To this humble structure, which stood in the midst of a forest, the State officers removed in December, 1820. The archives of the State of Illinois, in the care of Col. Sidney Breese, later United States Senator, making in all one small wagon load, were transported at a cost of $25. It was indeed a pioneer trip, and the roadway had frequently to be cut through dense forests before the new capital was reached. Kaskaskia had been the State capital for only two years.

On February 8, 1819, the First General Assembly balloted on candidates for United States Senator to succeed Senator Edwards, whose term was about to expire. He had hardly taken his seat in the Senate at Washington, D. C., before his opponents began to intrigue against his re-election. One of the schemes to accomplish this result was a proposition to divide the State into two Senatorial districts, which was only defeated in the Illinois House of Representatives by a majority of three votes.

His opponent was Col. Michael Jones, then a State Senator from Gallatin County, in this First General Assembly, and one of the leaders of the Bond party. All the hostility to Senator Edwards which his ten years of public service had engendered since he became a resident of the Illinois country was developed in Col. Jones' favor. The friendly truce between Col. Bond and Senator Edwards, by the terms of which the former had been elected as Governor and the latter as United States Senator, was now at an end.

Senator Edwards had been led to suppose that Governor Bond would remain his friend and supporter; what was his surprise, then, when he received a letter from him in which, incidentally referring to the pending senatorial election, doubtless intended to prepare him for the news of his defeat, he read as follows: "It has been stated by some that you are willing to serve again. Col. Jones is also a candidate. I

can not say who will be elected, for there is considerable division among the members." Senator Edwards was re-elected, however, by the small margin of four votes, receiving 23 votes to 19 votes for Col. Jones. Governor Bond used his influence for Col. Jones in this election. The First General Assembly therefore had the extraordinary distinction of having elected three United States Senators during its two sessions. The second session adjourned March 31, 1819, after sitting eighty-seven days, or a total of ninety-five days for the two sessions, and this was the longest session of any General Assembly in Illinois held prior to the Eighth General Assembly in 1832.

During the two years which elapsed between the admission of Illinois as a State and the meeting of the Second General Assembly at Vandalia, December 4, 1820, the expectations of the advocates of a State government had been fully realized. The population had increased from the more than doubtful 40,000 reported by the census takers just previous to the admission of the State, to the unquestionable number of 55,120 in 1820. Four new counties had been organized, namely, Alexander, Clark, Jefferson, and Wayne. New towns had been laid out and settlements commenced as far north as Greene County, and were rapidly extending.

The Second General Assembly was organized by the election of John McLean, a former Representative in Congress and later United States Senator from Illinois, as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Thomas Reynolds as Clerk. Col. Pierre Menard, the Lieutenant-Governor, again presided in the Senate.

The message of Governor Bond to the Second General Assembly was unpretentious and brief. He recommended the adoption of a liberal policy in regard to the improvement of the capital and the erection of suitable public buildings, among which he included a "seminary of learning." This institution, he naively argued, ought to be at the seat of government, "because of an occasional visit at the Houses of the General Assembly and the courts of justice, the student will find the best specimens of oratory the State can produce; imbibe the principles of legal science and political knowledge, and by an intercourse with good society his habits of life would be chastened and his manners improved."

He referred to the fact of the extinguishment of the debt of the Territorial Government and called attention to the scarcely less gratifying circumstance that the State treasury was in a healthy condition. He recommended a revision of the laws against gaming, and as if incited to an unusual glow at the moral aspect of the discussion, and with a reverence even greater than that shown in his first message, closed as follows: "May the Almighty God, to whose kind providence we are indebted for the safe and tranquil condition of our common country, and the plentiful harvest of the year, teach us to distrust ourselves and to rely firmly upon Him, that we may live to His glory and die in His love."

The most exciting subject of discussion before the Second General Assembly was the law to incorporate a State Bank. The times were hard. Over-trading and speculation, induced by the too abundant issue

of paper currency by the banks of adjoining States, had brought every one in debt. Lands and goods had been purchased and houses erected, not demanded by the legitimate growth and trade of the country. The banks in Ohio and Kentucky failed and those in Illinois and over at St. Louis, Missouri, ceased to do business. The currency had driven specie out of the country and when the former became worthless there was no money left, and but little commerce to bring it in. The people began to collect their debts by law, but as there was more property than money, a very little of the latter would purchase a large amount of the former. It would take a large farm to pay a small debt.

To provide a way to escape the existing evils, the General Assembly chartered the State Bank of Illinois, based entirely upon the credit of the State. The principal bank was to be at Vandalia, Fayette County, the State capital, with branches at Shawneetown, Gallatin County; at Edwardsville, Madison County, and at Brownsville, and at Palmyra. One, two, three, five, ten, and twenty-dollar notes were authorized to be issued, bearing two per cent interest per annum, payable by the State in ten years; and the bank was directed to loan its bills to the people in sums of not less than $100 on personal security. The bills were made receivable in payment of State and county taxes, and of all costs and fees, and the salaries of public officers; and if a creditor refused to endorse on his execution his willingness to receive them in payment of his debt, the debtor might replevy or stay its collection for three years by giving personal security.

There was strenuous opposition to the bill, led by Speaker McLean. By a singular provision of the rules, the Speaker was not permitted to participate in the debates except when the House had resolved itself into a committee of the whole, nor, indeed, to vote on any question except when a tie occurred. In order to deprive the eloquent Speaker from exposing the objectionable features of the proposed measure the House, which contained an assured majority in its favor, refused to go into a committee of the whole.

Speaker McLean was indignant at such treatment, resigning his position and calling another to the chair, and upon the floor of the House made a powerful argument against the bill, in which he prophetically predicted all the evils which ultimately resulted from the operations of the bank. But the bill passed nevertheless; and when the Council of Revision returned it, pointing out the objections to its provisions and showing that it was inexpedient and unconstitutional, it was enacted by the requisite majority. It was championed in the House by Richard Montgomery Young, who later became United States Senator. That this measure was a bad one, indeed, there is now no one to dispute.

The subsequent history of the operations of this bank will only be briefly alluded to. At first, it was a very popular institution, everybody that wanted money which included nearly the entire population, was accommodated, without much regard being paid to the kind of security offered. In this way $300,000 was soon put in circulation. As there was not enough silver in the country for change, the bills were cut to serve the purpose of fractional currency. In the meantime payments to the banks of their loans were slow and uncertain. No such thing as

redemption was thought of, and the bills began to fall below par—first the depreciation was twenty per cent, but the value of the currency gradually decreased until it was worth but thirty cents on the dollar.

The derangement of business, and the difficulties of carrying on a government, with such a system of currency, for the five or six following years, need not be particularly described. They fully justified the state of things presaged by those who had tried so hard to prevent the passage of the law. The State in issuing Auditor's warrants, as it did in 1825, at the rate of three dollars for one, to defray current expenses, lost $75,000; and this expensive system must have cost the State altogether a sum at least equal to the amount of bills issued by the bank—$300,000.

Another law passed by the Second General Assembly, only less ill-advised than the banking-law, because it covered less ground was the Stay-law, by which all previously issued executions on judgments were to be stopped or returned, and no new ones issued until after November 20, 1821, unless there was danger of losing the debt, in which case it might be stayed by giving bond with security. This was also reenacted over the objections of the Council of Revision; as were also the laws providing for the trial of rights of property; and to establish a court of probate.

As if not satisfied with their action in antagonizing the Governor and Supreme Court, the two Houses of the General Assembly were decidedly outspoken in the interchange of mutual compliments when, as was supposed, their own dignity was at stake. The State Senate had adopted a joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of State to give his certificate, and the Auditor his warrant, for the payment to the proper parties, of the same amount for returning the vote for President and Vice-President as for other elections.

Instead of acting upon this resolution, the House passed a bill for that purpose and sent it to the Senate in the usual way for its concurrence. The Senate at once passed a resolution of inquiry regarding the disposition of their joint resolution, "believing," as therein expressed, "that they are entitled to decorous and parliamentary treatment and attention from the House!" In reply to this the House promptly passed and transmitted to the Senate a resolution setting forth "that they had laid said resolution on the table to be acted upon when they forgot the constitution and fundamental laws of the State."

The issue was becoming decidedly interesting, and the Senate not to be overhasty in its action, referred what was considered a belligerent message to a select committee which without unnecessary delay made a report as follows:

"We see no cause to regret the conduct of the Senate, and that although we feel every disposition to pass over the subject as lightly as possible, making at the same time any reasonable allowance for the passions of the moment, and the frailties of human nature; yet we believe that it behooves the Senate as an independent branch of the government to maintain their rights. Therefore, resolved, that the resolution of the above alluded to lie under the table, there to remain until the Senate forget their rights, or the House of Representatives adhere to the joint rules for the government of both Houses of this General Assembly."

No regular elections were to be held at this session, but vacancies were to be filled in the offices of Associate Justice of the State Supreme

Court and Attorney-General. For the former William Wilson was again elected. For Attorney-General, Samuel Drake Lockwood was elected on the fourteenth ballot, his opponents being Gen. Henry Dodge, later United States Senator from Wisconsin on its admission as a State, and Theophilus Washington Smith, afterwards an Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court. Following this came the extraordinary election for the newly created bank officers and judges of probate, with the attendant button holing and log rolling. So that this General Assembly did not adjourn without passing through all the different phases of excitement incident to these early sessions.

Although the Second General Assembly contained some members of ability and good law making talent—such men as McLean, Young, Slade, Eddy, Mather, and Alexander—it must be admitted that the aggregate of its work was very bad; so bad, in fact, that it was many years before the State recovered from the unwise legislation for which it must be held responsible.

The expenditures of the State Government during Governor Bond's administration were certainly economical and were mainly confined to the ordinary expenses of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments. And when compared to the same expenditures during recent years they seem incredulous. The bills for stationery for the Second General Assembly amounted to $97.50, among the items being 5 cork inkstands, $1.87; 2 pewter inkstands, $1.25; 1 china inkstand, $1.50; 2 reams writing paper, $13.50; English quills, per 100, $1.25; ink, per bottle, $1. Firewood cost $1.50 per cord, of which seventy cords were consumed; 150 copies only of the Governor's message were ordered printed. The members of the First General Assembly received $4 per day and mileage and those of the Second General Assembly $3.50 and mileage.

The entire State receipts and expenditures during Governor Bond's administration were as follows:

Receipts from October 18, 1818, to December 31, 1820		$53,362.22
Expenditures, as ascertained from Auditor's report		35,655.00
Receipts from December 31, 1820, to December 31, 1822:		
Cash on hand	$17,707.22	
Collected from sheriff	7,268.23	
Taxes received from non-residents	38,437.75	
Non-resident bank-stock	97.77	
From salines on Ohio and Muddy Rivers	10,763.09	
From Sales, Vandalia lots	5,659.86	
		$79,933.92
Expenditures December 31, 1820, to December 31, 1822:		
Legislative department	$14,966.18	
Executive department	6,940.06	
Judicial department	7,932.33	
Prosecuting attorneys	1,531.08	
Contingent fund—printing, etc.	3,976.36	
Ohio saline	1,800.00	
Repairs and furnishings State House	1,101.57	
Militia	748.00	
Postage for State officers	234.10	
Special appropriations (including boundary line expenses $784, State bank $2,000, Pike County $1,500)	7,915.57	
		47,145.25
Balance in State treasury		$32,788.67

The receipts of the State of Indiana during the same period were $102,102 and the expenditures $102,168. This showed a healthy balance of $32,788.67 in the State treasury at the time Governor Bond retired from office on December 5, 1822.

The salaries of the State officers at this early period were as follows: Governor, $1,000 per year; Secretary of State, $600; Treasurer, $500; Auditor, $700; Attorney-General, $250, and Judges of the Supreme Court, $1,000. The salary of Governor Bond was therefore $1,000 per year, as compared to $1,000 per month now. But the office of Governor was not as important at that time as now, as there was really not much for the chief executive to do—no railroads, no State institutions requiring attention, no asylums, not even a penitentiary. The Indians were quiet and peaceable; in fact, most of them had removed from the settled portion of the State.

The administration of Governor Bond, outside of the political controversies which were never permitted to sleep or rest, and which in many of their aspects were transferred to Washington, was quiet and uneventful. The change from a Territorial to a State Government had been effected without friction or disturbance. And on the whole, Governor Bond's administration was fairly good, not being open to severe criticism from any party. It would have been still better if the two General Assemblies, the First and the Second, which convened during his administration, had legislated for the benefit of the people of the newly admitted State instead of for their own personal interests.

During Governor Bond's administration a duel was fought between two men, named Alonzo Stuart and William Bennett, which grew out of a drunken carousal at Belleville, Illinois, in February, 1819. The managers of the affair for the principals are said to have agreed that the guns should be loaded with blank cartridges, and Stuart was let into the secret, but Bennett was not. When the order to "fire" came, Bennett's gun proved to have been loaded with ball. Stuart fell, mortally wounded, expiring almost immediately. One report says that the duel was intended as a sham and to be harmless, and was so understood by Bennett, who was horrified by the result. He and his two seconds were arrested for murder, but Bennett broke jail and fled to Arkansas.

The seconds were tried, Daniel Pope Cook, then Attorney-General and later Representative in Congress from Illinois, conducting the prosecution, and Col. Thomas Hart Benton, later United States Senator from Missouri, defending, the trial resulting in their acquittal. Two years later Bennett was apprehended by some sort of artifice, put on his trial and convicted; Judge John Reynolds, afterwards Governor of Illinois, presiding and pronouncing the sentence of death by hanging. Bennett's friends besieged and entreated Governor Bond to pardon him or to stay the execution, until the Governor was so worn out and annoyed by them that he yielded to no entreaties, leaving home secretly and keeping out of the State until William Bennett was hung in the presence of a large crowd. The firmness of Governor Bond in insisting upon the execution of the law had much to do with making duelling unpopular and discreditable in Illinois. This was the first and last duel fought in Illinois.

The Second General Assembly in 1821 also authorized the Governor to appoint commissioners to act in conjunction with like commissioners appointed by the State of Indiana, to report on the practicability and expediency of improving the navigation of the Wabash River; also inland navigation in general. Governor Bond appointed the commissioners, but nothing was accomplished by them during his term of office. Many improvements were recommended, some of which were feebly worked at for some time, but those along the Wabash River were of no value. Also, during Governor Bond's administration the General Assembly passed a general law for the incorporation of academies and towns, and also one authorizing lotteries, the latter of which was obnoxious to the better element of citizenship in the new State.

On March 30, 1822, Congress passed an act "authorizing the State of Illinois to open a canal through the public lands to connect Illinois River with Lake Michigan." Commissioners were appointed at the session of the next General Assembly, during the first year of Governor Coles' administration, to explore the route and prepare the necessary surveys and estimates preparatory to its execution, but being unable out of its own resources to defray the expenses of the undertaking, it was abandoned until some time after Congress made the grant of land for the purpose of its construction. This blossomed into the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, which Governor Bond had earnestly advocated, both as a private citizen and also as chief executive.

Thus ended the administration of Col. Shadrach Bond as Governor of Illinois. The Governor was not required by the first State Constitution to reside at the State capital, except during the sessions of the General Assembly. These over, Governor Bond returned to the more congenial pursuits of his farm, the raising of stock, and the enjoyment of hunting. During his four-year term as Governor, Col. Bond had been unfortunate in that both the First and Second General Assemblies had been hostile to most of his recommendations. The General Assembly had also deprived him of much patronage because of the awkwardness of the first State Constitution.

Col. Bond had much to contend against. When he assumed the office of Governor, Illinois was a frontier State. The population was sparsely distributed, mainly over the southern third of the State. Northern Illinois was then an unbroken wilderness. Governor Bond was so just in his treatment of the Indians, who were numerous in southern Illinois during his residence there, that they readily accepted his judgment in the settlement of ordinary disputes between them and the white people.

Under the State Constitution Governor Bond had no independent veto power; he was merely one member of a Council of Revision, whose veto could be overridden by a bare majority in the General Assembly. The Council of Revision was composed of the Governor and the Judges of the State Supreme Court. He was strongly opposed to the State Bank and the Stay-law. For the bank was without capital and without adequate regulations for the security of its loans and note issues. And the provision that the president and directors should be elected bien-

nially by the General Assembly opened the way for vicious political influences and the management was thoroughly unbusinesslike.

As Governor, Col. Bond compared quite favorably to his successors in that office. He was not what the real meaning of a statesman implies, nor even a great figure, so to speak, but was possessed of a good, strong and plain common sense. He did not make any pretensions to be something that he was not. The verdict of history is that he gave to Illinois a fairly good administration, considering the circumstances under which he labored, the elements opposed to him, and his limitations under the first State Constitution. He did all in his power to elevate Illinois to the highest standard attainable, that her posterity might prosper and grow to efficiency and influence.

He was a very plain man and easily approached as Governor, and when he was inaugurated as Governor some one suggested a grand ball in the evening to complete the day's program, but the Governor promptly rejected the proposal; so, of course, no inaugural ball was held. It was perhaps the simplest inauguration ever held in the history of Illinois. Governor Bond was also very fortunate in having a remarkable memory for names and faces, and in his many years in the public service he had formed the acquaintance of some of the most eminent men of Illinois and of the United States. Maj. James Monroe of Virginia was President of the United States when Illinois was admitted as a State, and President Monroe and Governor Bond were good friends. His previous experience as a public official was of great benefit to him in the gubernatorial office.

He was forty-four years of age when he became Governor, and had resided in the Illinois country about twenty-four years when chosen as the first chief executive, and it was as an adopted Illinoisan that he became known to history. During the four-year term in which Col. Bond served as Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, Col. Pierre Menard, the Secretary of State, Elias Kent Kane, and the State Auditor, Col. Elijah Conway Berry, all served throughout his administration in their respective offices.

The State Treasurer, John Thomas, died in July, 1819, and was succeeded by Robert K. McLaughlin, who served throughout Col. Bond's administration. Treasurer McLaughlin was married on May 25, 1815, to Miss Isabella Bond, a cousin of Governor Bond, and was an uncle of Gen. Joseph Duncan, who later became Governor of Illinois. The Attorney-General, Daniel Pope Cook, resigned that office on March 15, 1819, having been elected as Representative in Congress, and was succeeded by William Mears, who on February 26, 1821, was succeeded by Samuel Drake Lockwood, who served through the Bond administration. The office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction was not created until more than thirty years afterwards. Ninian Edwards and Jesse Burgess Thomas represented Illinois in the United States Senate at that time, while John McLean firstly, and then Daniel Pope Cook had represented Illinois in the national House of Representatives during this same period. During these years also John Messenger and John McLean had served as Speakers of the Illinois House of Representatives. So

while Governor, Col. Shadrach Bond was surrounded by some of the most brilliant lights in Illinois history.

By the Constitution of 1818 the Governor was not eligible to succeed himself. Because of this fact candidates for the gubernatorial office began to multiply. Thomas C. Browne, an Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court, announced himself as a candidate for Governor and was supported by the followers of Senator Edwards. Capt. Joseph Phillips, the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, also became a candidate for Governor, resigning his position on the bench to enter actively into the canvass. He was supported by the friends of Governor Bond, who was not eligible to re-election. Capt. Phillips had defeated Col. Bond for the appointment of Secretary of Illinois Territory in 1816, but they had always been friends, even though Col. Bond was very much disappointed at failing to receive the appointment.

Gen. James B. Moore, a noted Indian fighter in the War of 1812, also became a candidate for Governor and was supported by the old rangers. Edward Coles, the Register of the Land Office at Edwardsville, Madison County, was another candidate for gubernatorial honors. He had been a resident of Illinois only three years, and while the subject of slavery did not enter directly into the canvass, Coles was understood to be the only outspoken anti-slavery candidate among the four gentlemen who aspired to succeed Governor Bond. Judges Phillips and Browne were known to be pro-slavery advocates, but in this contest it was merely a choice of the personal characteristics of the announced candidates.

The election was held on Monday, August 5, 1822. The contest was believed to lie between Judges Phillips and Browne. But to the surprise of many, Edward Coles was elected by a plurality of 167 votes over Judge Phillips, who had the support of Governor Bond. Under the circumstances it was a great personal triumph for Coles. He had not been identified with either the Edwards or Bond factions, and was opposed by both. He had no official patronage, nor the advantage of any "machine." But, which was much better, he had the sympathy and cordial support of the anti-slavery element among the voters, who remembered with gratitude the practical and generous evidence he had given of his abiding faith in free soil and free men.

Col. Shadrach Bond served as Governor of Illinois for one term or a little more than four years from October 6, 1818, to December 5, 1822, being succeeded by Edward Coles, of Edwardsville, Madison County, the second Governor. He had succeeded the Territorial Governor, Ninian Edwards, and had been elected as a Democrat. Coles was also a Democrat. Governor Bond, after making a brief farewell address introduced his successor, Governor Coles, who delivered his inaugural address. These exercises over, Col. Bond immediately returned from the capital at Vandalia to his farm, and engaged in farming, which even though he had been in public office almost continually had not been neglected.

He remained in private life only a year, however, following the termination of his gubernatorial service. On December 5, 1823, he was appointed by President James Monroe as Register of the Land Office for the district of which Kaskaskia, his home city, was the headquarters. He accepted the appointment and immediately entered upon the duties

of the office. At this time, this was the most lucrative position in Illinois, the salary being $3,000 per year. He held this position until his death.

While still in this office of Register of the Land Office, in the summer of 1824, Col. Bond was brought out by his many friends and admirers and his faction in the Democratic party as a candidate for Representative in Congress from the State at large. At that time Illinois had but one Representative in Congress. This was a Presidential year and Col. Bond supported William Harris Crawford of Georgia, for President of the United States in this campaign, although not antagonizing in any way the followers of Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, also a Presidential candidate.

Daniel Pope Cook, of Edwardsville, Madison County, and a son-in-law of Senator Edwards, was serving his third term as Representative in Congress and was then at the zenith of a most remarkable and brilliant career. He was a candidate for a fourth term at this election and was allied with the Edwards faction of the Democratic party. He was indeed a formidable opponent and had defeated such able and popular men as John McLean and Elias Kent Kane in his former contests for that office, having beaten McLean twice. He was one of the ablest and most eloquent men ever produced by Illinois, and on the stump no political foe seemed willing to meet him. He was more than a match for any speaker that could be brought against him.

In this election also, the issue of the calling of a Constitutional Convention to make Illinois a slave State, or not, was to be voted upon. Historians of Illinois have had much to say about how Col. Shadrach Bond in this year of 1824 advocated the holding of a Convention and of making Illinois a slave State. This is entirely incorrect according to his son, the late Dr. Bond. Col. Bond while not taking a very active part in this issue on account of being a candidate for office, still, he was strongly opposed to slavery. He had freed his negro slaves, although some of them remained with the family for many years thereafter. Whenever Col. Bond lifted his voice on this issue it was against slavery. He believed slavery was a sin and a curse. He was found on the side of those who were battling against a Convention and against making Illinois a slave State. A great injustice, an uncalled for wrong, has been done to his good name by these historians, who either because of prejudice or of ignorance as to his views have so enthusiastically recorded him on the slavery side.

The campaign for representatives in Congress was exciting indeed. When Congressman Cook returned from Washington he devoted himself exclusively to his own campaign against Col. Bond and also the defeat of the Convention resolution. He was a host within himself and brought his personal influence to bear to secure the support of others. Governor Bond was not an orator, nor a public speaker, and could not cope against so formidable an opponent as Congressman Cook. He had made many fast friends by a judicious bestowment of his gubernatorial patronage, and these worked zealously for him in the campaign. The friends of the former Governor brought every possible consideration of a personal or political nature to bear in his favor. This was his last appeal as a can-

didate directly to the people, conducting a quiet still-hunt campaign devoid of noise and oratory. There were no State officers to be elected in 1824. But instead was the election of a Representative in Congress and also the issue of making Illinois a slave State or not.

The result of the election was as follows:

Illinois, August 2, 1824.

Congressman-at-large, Daniel Pope Cook,* (Dem.) 7,489
Congressman-at-large, Col. Shadrach Bond, (Dem.) 4,388

Col. Bond had been badly defeated in the contest, Congressman Cook having obtained a majority of 3,101 votes over the former Governor. Slavery was also defeated by a good majority in this same election and the Constitutional Convention was not to be called. Both Bond and Cook were Democrats and both enjoyed an extensive acquaintance throughout the State. There were thirty counties in Illinois at this time and of these thirty, Congressman Cook carried twenty-two and Col. Bond only eight. The counties carried by Col. Bond were Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Jackson, Jefferson, Randolph, Wayne and White. Col. Bond carried his home county of Randolph by the scant majority of nine votes. In Edgar County Col. Bond did not receive a single vote and only three votes in Fulton County. Such was the personal popularity and hold on the voters enjoyed by the midget but brilliant Congressman Cook. The following is the official vote by counties for the office of Congressman-at-large in this State-wide election:

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS-AT-LARGE

County	Daniel Pope Cook	Col. Shadrach Bond
Alexander	84	57
Bond	267	40
Clark	96	54
Crawford	257	142
Edgar	237	
Edwards	487	103
Fayette	158	89
Franklin	126	177
Fulton	70	3
Gallatin	286	462
Greene	392	163
Hamilton	48	226
Jackson	77	197
Jefferson	31	111
Johnson	94	59
Lawrence	281	144
Madison	644	285
Marion	53	46
Monroe	200	143
Montgomery	111	55
Morgan	455	21
Pike	176	12
Pope	216	186
Randolph	319	328
St. Clair	575	402
Sangamon	789	90
Union	289	174
Washington	201	94
Wayne	134	168
White	336	357
Totals	7489	4388

When Col. Bond first entered the race he had little hopes of defeating the little Congressman. He could not overcome the popularity of Congressman Cook, however. This was his first and last defeat as a candidate before the people. After his defeat he confined his attention to the duties of the Land Office. In this campaign Congressman Cook was understood to have been friendly to John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, another Presidential aspirant, and strongly opposed to Crawford.

An interesting incident, though not considered very seriously, in the life of Col. Bond was as an officer of the State Bank of Edwardsville, Madison County, he was assailed by his old political foe, Ninian Edwards, then Governor of Illinois. At the outset of the year 1827, Governor Ninian Edwards in a message to the Fifth General Assembly, charged acts of corruption against the officers of the State Bank of Edwardsville, and a committee from the House of Representatives was appointed to investigate the charges. A large mass of testimony was taken and a long time occupied in making the examination.

The charges appear to have been instigated in no small degree by a feeling of irritation on the part of the Governor. They certainly were hastily considered and altogether too sweeping in their denunciations. Embracing as they did, not a few of the most prominent men of the State, to whom no taint of suspicion could rightfully attach, they resulted in the formation of a powerful combination to defeat the investigation. Had the Governor shown more discrimination in selecting those whom he accused, the ultimate result might have been different. As it was, however, the unquestionably innocent and the possibly guilty found themselves forced to make common cause, and the fact that Governor Edwards had before preferred equally grave charges against William Harris Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, which he had failed to sustain, was used against him with marked effect.

While the testimony showed that there had been careless mismanagement of the bank, the committee felt warranted from the evidence in bringing in a report that "nothing was proved against the officers of the bank, to-wit: William Kinney, Shadrach Bond, Thomas Carlin, Abraham Prickett, Elijah Iles, and Theophilus W. Smith, which would justify the belief that they had acted corruptly or in bad faith in the management as officers of said bank."

Rev. William Kinney was then Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois; Col. Bond was then Register of the Land Office at Kaskaskia; Capt. Thomas Carlin was then State Senator in this same General Assembly and later Governor of Illinois; Abraham Prickett was a former member of the Illinois General Assembly and a pioneer merchant at Edwardsville; Maj. Elijah Iles was then State Senator from Sangamon County in this same General Assembly; and Theophilus Washington Smith was then serving as an Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court. These were the officers of the State Bank assailed by Governor Edwards, and some of the most prominent men in the State at that time. They were men whose honesty, integrity, and character, were not questioned, and the slight mismanagement of the bank was no fault of theirs.

Col. Bond was an officer of this bank against his own personal wish.

And he was assailed because of a personal feeling which had existed for many years between the Governor and himself. He had been opposed to Edwards in his race for reelection as United States Senator, and in the campaign of 1826 had again been opposed to his candidacy for Governor. Both times Edwards had been victorious, however, against the candidates whose cause Col. Bond had espoused. But this time Col. Bond had won a signal personal victory. As Receiver of Public Moneys and as Register of the Land Office he had handled a great deal of money and never was there at any time even the slightest suspicion raised against his honesty. For Col. Bond was honest in every dealing and an ardent believer in the sacred saying that "honesty is the best policy." And as far as Col. Bond was concerned in this matter, it was simply a personal grudge of long standing held against him by Governor Edwards.

A law was enacted in 1827 by this same Fifth General Assembly providing for the construction of a State Penitentiary at Alton, Madison County. This was a favorite measure of John Reynolds, then a member of the House of Representatives from St. Clair County in this General Assembly, and later the successor of Governor Edwards in the gubernatorial office. Governor Edwards was opposed to the construction of the penitentiary. The State treasury was empty, and as no one at that day had the temerity to propose a loan, the question arose how the funds were to be provided to erect the necessary buildings. The saline lands, of which only the use had been granted to the State, failed to produce that income which was anticipated from them, and there was difficulty in collecting the rents, some of which were lost.

Now if these lands belonged to the State in fee, and were sold, the required means could be raised. Accordingly, upon the memorial of the Illinois General Assembly to Congress, the State was authorized to sell forty thousand acres of the "Ohio Saline in Gallatin County and to apply the proceeds of the sale to such objects as the Legislature may direct." The way was now open, and a combination was made by which the eastern section of the State should have one-half of said proceeds to make certain improvements of roads and bridges; and the western portion the other half, to be expended in building the penitentiary.

The law was proposed and the site selected by John Reynolds. At this same session the General Assembly appointed as the first penitentiary commissioners, Col. Shadrach Bond, William P. McKee and Dr. Gershom Jayne, who were authorized to superintend the work of the construction of this first State Penitentiary at Alton. Col. Bond, although the appointment came to him as a surprise, accepted same, and took an active interest in its construction but did not live to see the penitentiary completed.

Col. Bond had always considered it a duty to aid charity. In the early days of Illinois, the number of paupers was few, and their care was assumed by citizens to whom charity was at once a duty and a recreation. In Randolph County, for many years he served on the Board of Overseers of the Poor; and the entire duties of this board consisted in the yearly farming out to the lowest bidder of an old man who was both poor and blind. Col. Bond always gave not only of his precious time,

for he was always a very busy man, but also of his means to all charitable purposes.

The oldest secret fraternity in Illinois are the Free Masons—or better known as the "Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons." The first lodge of this fraternity was instituted at Kaskaskia, June 3, 1806, with Gen. John Edgar as Worshipful Master, Col. Michael Jones as Senior Warden, James Galbraith as Junior Warden, William Arundel as Secretary, Robert Robinson as Senior Deacon, and Dr. George Fisher as Junior Deacon. These men were all prominent in the early history of Illinois. Illinois was then a part of Indiana Territory. This first meeting, or the organization meeting, was held in the old Territorial capitol building which later became the first State house of Illinois, and still later the court house of Randolph County. And from this obscure beginning, the Masonic Lodge in Illinois has grown to a large and powerful fraternal organization.

Col. Shadrach Bond became a member of the Masonic Lodge and also became the Worshipful Master. The Grand Lodge of Masons of Illinois was organized at Vandalia, Fayette County, the capital of Illinois at that time, in 1822, the last year of Governor Bond's administration. Governor Bond was chosen at this meeting as the first Grand Master of Illinois Masons. He became active in this organization and did his share in promoting its growth. These fraternal honors also came to him unsought.

Governor Bond, like his dear wife, was also a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and did much in assisting to enthuse the spirit and spread the creed and also in increasing its membership. Meetings were held at the homes of the members from time to time. He was a Christian from early life and died as one. He was pious, faithful, and devoted, and the family prayers at his fireside were as regular as the night and the day.

In his inaugural address and in his messages to the General Assembly this Christian spirit shone in its truest form. He sympathized with the sick and afflicted and willingly lent a hand to those of the people who were unfortunate in life. His daily conversation disclosed this sympathetic and righteous spirit. Whatever were his faults and shortcomings, it can be truly said that he always meant well. Whatever he undertook to do, was always well done. His habits were in line with his piety, he had no bad ones. He believed in the Golden Rule and always treated his enemies in a friendly manner. And this same Christian spirit he imbibed into his children.

As has been previously stated, Col. Bond's education was somewhat limited. His handwriting was poor and his acquaintance with the spelling book was not intimate. He was not a polished scholar; yet in the school of experience, and of everyday intercourse with his fellowmen, he acquired a large stock of useful knowledge and practical information. He had a high forehead, indicating a large brain, and a countenance expressing rare intelligence. He was of a sympathetic, benevolent and convivial disposition and a man of shrewd observation and clear appreciation of events. And being of a jovial spirit in society as in public life, he was personally agreeable and popular.

His person was erect, compact, and formed with perfect symmetry; with a military bearing, standing six feet in height and after middle life becoming somewhat portly, weighing two hundred pounds. His bearing was noble, dignified, and commanding. His features were strongly masculine, complexion dark, hair a glossy jet-black and generally rather long, and eyes a hazel color. He was a great admirer of and favorite with the ladies; "yet" says Governor Reynolds, "his gallantries, though many, were always circumscribed with propriety"—a remark which cannot be truthfully repeated of all his successors in the executive chair. He was handsome and his manners were winsome.

He kept his horses and his hounds, and was fond of racing and hunting. He was a true sportsman. He was very decided in his opinions and faithful to his friends and allies. He always remembered a favor. He participated prominently in the political controversies of his day and to him politics was a recreation. He was a sturdy, whole-souled farmer, full of energy and pluck, loving agricultural pursuits better than politics and all its lurid inducements. And during the score of years he served in public life he never neglected his work on the farm. He did not farm as today that is true, for those were pioneer days, long before the mower, the reaper, the hay-loader, the corn elevator, and all the other now-a-day improved and labor-saving farm machinery had been invented. Still he was an active, model, and successful farmer.

Because of his wide acquaintance in Illinois and other States, and of his services in various capacities as well as close association with most of the people, a great many of these friends called on him at his mansion, as it was termed then. Here he entertained them according to his means and at times they remained for days and weeks. In his latter days, upon the broad verandas of his mansion the old political battles were fought over again, and new combinations were made for future contests, all with a rare good will and honesty of purpose.

In the Ordinance of 1787, an act of Congress, for the establishment and government of the Northwest Territory, the last clause of that Ordinance, or Article VI, reads as follows:

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states; such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."

While slavery was prohibited in the Northwest Territory, still, there were different constructions placed on the meaning of that part of the Ordinance referring to "descent and conveyance of property," and the clause prohibiting slavery. Slaveholders began to exhibit uneasiness on the subject of their tenure, and as early as 1794 the question was raised of repealing or superseding the prohibitory clause of the Ordinance, and a number of persons petitioned Congress at least to suspend its operation. So widespread had this feeling become by 1802, that Gen. William Henry Harrison, then Governor of Indiana Territory, was induced to call a delegate convention, which assembled at Vincennes, Indiana, December 20, 1802, to consider the question.

The members chosen from Illinois to this convention were: Col. Shadrach Bond, John Moredoch, and Jean Francois Perry, from St. Clair County; and Col. Pierre Menard, Robert Morrison, and Robert Reynolds, from Randolph County. At this convention a memorial to Congress was adopted, setting forth the great benefits which would flow to the people from slaveholding and praying for the repeal or modification of the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787. This document was transmitted to Congress, but that body never acted upon the memorial, although it was referred to a committee which reported adversely. This article was never abrogated but was in full force and effect.

At this convention, it has been stated by Illinois historians that Col. Bond was strongly in favor of the nullification of the sixth article of the Ordinance, but this his son, the late Dr. Bond, disputed, and claimed was another inaccuracy of history. Dr. Bond stated that his father, the Governor, had always, from youth to his death, been very strongly opposed to slavery in any form, and that at this convention he made a brief address in which he urged the retention of the clause and the prohibition of slavery in the new territory. Dr. Bond also stated that his father voted against the repeal of this clause at this convention.

He had freed his own slaves and also those of his wife, the latter through the indenture procedure in later years; but many of these slaves so freed loved their master so well that they remained with the family till after the death of the widow of the Governor. And during the time of their remaining with the family they were not in bondage, but free. Dr. Bond stated that it did his father a great injustice when historians had depicted him as a pro-slavery adherent and as one of those who tried to make Illinois a slave State in 1824.

These statements about his father had often made the doctor feel downhearted and morose, and they were absolutely erroneous. He could not understand why historians should treat his father thus. Many inaccuracies have been published about the Governor, even as to the dates of his birth and death, but the worst mistake of all was that he was pictured as a pro-slavery adherent. Dr. Bond attributed his own strong anti-slavery sentiments, as well as those of the other members of the family circle excepting his mother, to the father's undying opposition to slavery.

Benjamin Bond, the favorite brother of Governor Bond, was younger than the latter and was also born in Maryland. He emigrated to Illinois when very young. Like his illustrious brother, he also became prominent in the political history of Illinois. On August 4, 1834, he was elected State Senator as a Democrat. He served as State Senator from Monroe County in the Ninth and Tenth General Assemblies for one term, or four years, from December 1, 1834, to December 3, 1838. This was shortly after Col. Bond's death and while Gen. Joseph Duncan was Governor of Illinois.

Benjamin Bond also served as Secretary of the Illinois State Senate in the Eleventh General Assembly for one term, or two years, from December 3, 1838, to November 23, 1840. The Whig party had a majority in this Senate. Nearly twenty years later he was for the second time chosen as Secretary of the State Senate in the Twentieth General

Mrs. Eliza Lucretia Watson
GRANDDAUGHTER OF GOVERNOR BOND

Mrs. Sidney Sublett
GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER OF GOVERNOR BOND

Mary E. Bond

Lillie A. Bond

GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTERS OF GOVERNOR BOND

Assembly, serving one term, or two years, from January 5, 1857, to January 3, 1859. The Democrats had a majority of one in this Senate.

Ten years previous to his last election as Secretary of the State Senate he had on April 19, 1847, been elected from Clinton County as Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, which convened at Springfield, Illinois, on June 7, 1847, to revise and remodel the State Constitution. A Constitution was adopted August 31, 1847, the day of adjournment. In this convention he was a leading figure. Benjamin Bond married early in life, but had no children. Soon after the termination of his service as Secretary of the State Senate in the Twentieth General Assembly he removed to Baltimore, Maryland, where he died in peace and contentment.

Another brother of Governor Bond was Joshua Bond, who was also born in Maryland and emigrated early in life to Illinois, residing for many years near Governor Bond's farm, a short distance from Kaskaskia, Randolph County, Illinois. Early in life Joshua Bond was married to Miss Sophia Beckes, and they became the parents of six children, five sons and one daughter. Later in life Joshua Bond removed to Carlyle, Clinton County, Illinois, where he died.

Thomas Bond, son of Joshua Bond, was twice married, his first wife dying without issue, and the children by the second wife surviving the parents were Miss Belle Bond, who married a Clabaugh; Benjamin Bond, and Sterling P. Bond, the latter who was a prominent attorney at St. Louis, Missouri. Benjamin Bond, another son of Joshua Bond, was married to a relative, Miss Mary Bond, and had one child, Joshua S. Bond of Washington, D. C. Shadrach Bond III, another son of Joshua Bond, was never married and died many years ago.

Parmenus Bond, another son of Joshua Bond, was twice married, firstly to Miss Hester Watson, and they were the parents of two daughters, Miss Susan Bond and Miss Mettie Bond. His first wife dying, Parmenus Bond married again, his second wife being Miss Sophia Wise, and by this marriage five children were born, four daughters and one son. Their children were Joshua Bond, Miss Hester Bond, Miss Mary Bond, Miss Emma Bond, and Miss May Bond. Parmenus Bond was the American party candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois in 1856, but polled only a small vote. Col. John Wood, who later succeeded to the Governorship on the death of Governor Bissell, was elected as Lieutenant-Governor, being the Republican candidate, the vote being as follows:

Illinois, November 4, 1856.

Lieutenant-Governor, Col. John Wood, (Rep.)	110, 603
Lieutenant-Governor, Col. Richard Jones Hamilton, (Dem.)	104, 206
Lieutenant-Governor, Parmenus Bond, (Amer.)	19, 326

Parmenus Bond took an active interest in politics, but was not an office seeker. Buckner Smith Morris of Chicago was the American party candidate for Governor in this election.

Richard Bond, another son of Joshua Bond, was married to Miss Mary Fectig, and they were the parents of three children, two sons and one daughter, George Bond, Thomas Bond, and Miss Sophia Bond. Nicodemus Bond, another son of Joshua Bond, was married to Miss

Barbara Kelly, and they had no children. Miss Mary Bond, the only daughter of Joshua Bond, was married to William Collier, and they were the parents of two children, a son and a daughter, Miss Sophia Collier and William Collier, Jr.

Another brother of Governor Bond was Nicodemus Bond, Jr., also born in Maryland, but who died October 10, 1798, while still a young man. And still another brother of the Governor was Richard Bond III. also born in Maryland, who died September 16, 1800, while a young man. Governor Bond also had a sister, by name Miss Hannah Bond, born in Maryland, who grew to maturity and married a man by the name of Allen.

The word "bond" has various meanings even as a noun. One meaning is a connection; another is union, and still another a writing or obligation to pay a sum or perform a contract. So it is a lovable name and has various beautiful meanings. The Bond family in the United States is indeed a large one and the members by that name are scattered throughout every State in the Union. Many in the great Bond family in the United States have become quite prominent. Some of the members have become prominent in various vocations, some as physicians, clergymen, astronomers, lecturers, authors, journalists, educators, railroad men, genealogists, jurists, lawyers, farmers, and soldiers. Some have been members of Congress. But thus far only one member of this large family ever became a Governor, and that was Col. Shadrach Bond of Illinois.

And of the members of the entire Bond family in the United States, even to this day, the one who became the most distinguished was Col. Shadrach Bond, the first Governor of Illinois. It would be useless to attempt to give a complete and authoritative genealogy of the entire Bond family in the United States, as it would be too voluminous, so the author of this work has given only the genealogy of those closely connected with the first Governor of Illinois. And the descendants of Governor Bond are scattered amongst many of the States, a quiet, studious, intelligent, industrious, and prosperous people.

Governor Bond had been out for a drive on a business errand in the early part of April, 1832. The raw, penetrating April winds had chilled him through, a cold came on and he contracted pneumonia, from which he never recovered. He took to his bed, and after a brief illness in which medical aid was of no avail, passed away. He died at his home on the farm about a mile west of Kaskaskia, Randolph County, Illinois, April 12, 1832, having attained the age of 58 years.

His remains were interred in the family cemetery on the Bond farm near Kaskaskia, but when the Mississippi River threatened to wash away the farm, the State of Illinois in 1879, mindful of the faithful services of its first Governor, provided for the removal of his remains to Chester, Randolph County, Illinois. His son, Dr. Bond, and his grandson removed the remains to Evergreen cemetery at Chester, Illinois, on November 13, 1879, for the State, where his remains still repose.

The following is a copy of the inscription on the tombstone of Governor Bond, a small slab which marked his resting place near Kas-

SHADRACH BOND MONUMENT

kaskia for forty-seven years, or nearly half a century, and transferred with the remains to Chester:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
GOVERNOR SHADRACH BOND.

Who departed this life in the triumphant hope of immortality at his late residence near Kaskaskia on the 12th of April, A. D. 1832.

Aged 58 years.

The deceased was a native of Maryland, but for the last thirty-seven years resided in Illinois—where as a politician and statesman, he continued to fill till the day of his death, with integrity and honor, many of the most important offices in the State.

And as a friend and citizen he lived beloved and died lamented.

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord—Yea—saith the spirit—for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them. Rev. 14, 13.

A handsome monument was erected over his grave at the Evergreen cemetery at Chester, Illinois, by the State in 1883, the Illinois General Assembly having made an appropriation by a special act for that purpose. The following is the inscription on Governor Bond's monument at Evergreen cemetery at Chester, Illinois:

IN MEMORY OF SHADRACH BOND,
THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Born at Fredericktown, Maryland, November 24, A. D. 1773, died at his residence near Kaskaskia, April 12, A. D. 1832.

In recognition of his valuable public services, this monument was erected by the State, A. D. 1883.

Governor Bond filled many offices of trust and importance,

All with integrity and honor.

And thus the State of Illinois, which he had served so faithfully and well, took these means of honoring her first Governor.

He was survived by his wife and five children, three daughters and two sons, the youngest child, Dr. Benjamin Nicodemus Bond, being only a little more than five years of age then. His life had been a very active one, his death came in peace and contentment. He and his wife had enjoyed a married life of twenty-one years which death now severed. He died while his friend, John Reynolds, was serving as Governor of Illinois, and did not live to attain what we term old age. He was the first Governor of Illinois to pass through the valley of death. He was born more than two years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and even previous to the beginning of the Revolutionary War. The United States was then under the rule of Great Britain.

The fifty-eight years of his life were busy years indeed. He was one of the early pioneers of Illinois and soon became prominent in the political life of the new country. His funeral was a large one and the State of Illinois was well represented there. It proved that even though he had held various public capacities and had in that early day been assailed and misrepresented and his name maligned, still at his

obsequies there was the friendly feeling on all sides that Col. Bond had been an honest and efficient official in every respect.

And the people of Illinois hold in great admiration this man, who though with a limited education, by his superior intellect, unspotted character, and jovial manner, made friends with everybody with whom he came in contact. His virtues were many and his qualities rare. His greatest work, by which he will be longest remembered, was as a Delegate to Congress from Illinois Territory. Besides leaving the mark of his usefulness and influence in many matters, he especially brought about the passage of a bill giving preemption rights to settlers on the public lands. This was of inestimable value then. How much it endeared him to the settler who was cultivating public lands, who knew not at what day an entry of the land by another would deprive him of both land and improvements. It also gave to the settler the present use of his small means for improvements with the certainty of the land and a home in the future. And it cheered the squatter and was a strong inducement to immigration.

Governor Bond is sleeping in the bosom of his fathers. His remains are dust from whence he came, but what he accomplished for the Territory and the new State will remain on history's page as long as Illinois history is writ. He was one of the illustrious and honored few who helped build the State of Illinois, and in memory that enough is glory. We remain to tell the story for yet a while. But our generation, too, like its predecessors, will soon swiftly pass to its appointed end.

Mrs. Achsah Bond, the widow of Col. Bond, survived her illustrious husband nearly twelve years. When 35 years of age she had married the future Governor and was strictly a home-loving woman. Her name was Bond previous to her marriage. Because of the prominence of her husband and his acquaintanceship and close association with most of the people in Illinois at that pioneer period, she entertained at their home a great deal. She was an excellent hostess and was exceedingly popular. She was always called Madam Bond by her admirers, and the Governor owed much of his success in life to the valuable assistance rendered him by his handsome wife.

They were greatly devoted to each other and the death of the Governor in 1832 was a sad blow to her. She was a devout Christian and coming from Baltimore, Maryland, her native city, and the home of Methodism, she early became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The early Methodists of Illinois were a people of earnest piety and intense religious feelings. Their religion shaped their lives and everything else had to submit to their views. She continued a Methodist till her death. Her only fault, if that be considered as one, was her strong belief that the traffic in negro slavery was just and right. She was daring and fearless and in those trying days of the frontier and of Indian treachery when the bravery of every person was put to a severe test, often made long journeys on horseback with her husband along unknown and dangerous routes. She was an excellent horsewoman and often engaged with her husband in the congenial sports of hunting and fishing. She was a devoted wife and a kind mother.

KASKASKIA IN 1895

In the will of Governor Bond, the home and farm near Kaskaskia was left to his wife until her eldest son should attain his majority, and then it was to be his. She superintended the work on the farm following her husband's demise for a number of years and when her eldest son, Thomas Shadrach Bond, became of age, and under the conditions of the will was given possession of the homestead farm near Kaskaskia, the mother removed to Chester, Randolph County, Illinois, there to reside with her daughter, Mrs. Joseph B. Holmes.

Thomas Shadrach Bond never married and frequently the mother would make visits with him at the old farm, for Chester is but a short distance from Kaskaskia, both places being in Randolph County. On what proved to be her last trip back to the old farm in February, 1844, for an intended visit and also on some business matters, the day being raw and stormy, she contracted a cold which immediately developed into pneumonia.

Mrs. Achsah Bond died at the old homestead farm near Kaskaskia, Randolph County, Illinois, February 29, 1844, aged 69 years. Her illness was only of a few days duration, passing away at the home of her eldest son. Two daughters and her youngest son, the late Dr. Bond, were with her at the time of her death. Rev. Andrews officiated at the funeral which was attended by a large concourse of people. Madam Bond was mourned by a vast throng of friends and admirers. Her remains were interred in the family cemetery on the homestead farm near Kaskaskia, but on November 13, 1879, thirty-five years later they were transferred together with her husband's remains to Evergreen Cemetery at Chester, Illinois, where their dust still reposes side by side. The transfer was made by her son, the late Dr. Bond, and her grandson, under the supervision of the State of Illinois.

She was survived by three daughters and two sons. Two of the surviving children, a daughter and the eldest son, died in 1849, five years later, victims of the cholera plague which swept through the United States that year.

In 1882 the Mississippi River cut through the peninsula above the old town of Kaskaskia, the home of so many early intellectual giants, and formed a junction with the Kaskaskia, or Okaw River, eight miles above the place where it originally emptied into the Mississippi River. The waters have been washing away the land upon which the town stood, until now the last trace of the old historic place has almost disappeared.

Thomas Shadrach Bond, the eldest son of Governor Bond, sold the old homestead just previous to his death, to which under the will of his father he had come into possession of. The famous brick mansion of Governor Bond was taken down and moved by new owners to Pujol, on the Kaskaskia Island. Some authorities have stated that this old residence was taken down and rebuilt at Jackson Park, Chicago, Illinois, at the time of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, as an Illinois historical exhibit, but such is not the case. The old mansion with its quaint old-fashioned French colonial architecture is no more. It has gone to decay. It was washed into the Mississippi River in the spring of 1896 and all of the old buildings of Kaskaskia have one by one fol-

lowed in the wake of the Bond residence. At this old Bond residence were entertained and quartered the early statesmen, the distinguished men of Illinois.

And the old Bond farm now forms a part of the bed of the Mississippi River. This model farm Kaskaskians always took a great pride in pointing out to the traveller. But this too, was doomed many years ago, and all of the famous old Bond estate is now only a dream. And old Kaskaskia, once the pride of the valley is now but a memory.

And thus ends this brief skeleton outline of the story of Col. Shadrach Bond, the first Governor of Illinois. Daring in war, modest in peace, and efficient in service. Integrity reigned there, coupled with the zeal, the ambition, and the decision of an active man. Not one who sang his own praises but who quietly went about his tasks. Illinois has revered thy blessed memory by a beautiful monument over thy grave. And the writer dedicates this volume to the perpetuation of thy memory. Let this work be thy living monument through the never-ending ages, that posterity may learn to know thee and revere thee as thou really were. The Illinois Centennial rises to adore thee. Peace to thy dust. We will preserve thy memory. And long live the name of Col Shadrach Bond.

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INDEX.

PAGE

A

Abbott, Edward 52
Abbott, Edward. Letter to Gov. Carleton, quoted..... 52
Abbott, Edward. Lieut. Gov. of Detroit 48
Abend, Edward 133
Abott, Abott A..... 93
Abrams, J. B..... 197
Acts of 1876-1877..... 132
Adam, G. Mercer.....105
Adams Co. Ill.....195
Adams, John Quincy.....224
Aftonbladet, Swedish Newspaper.170
Ainsworth, (Mrs.) Harry..... 21
Alabama State 202
Alabama State, Baldwin Co. History 29
Alabama State, Baldwin Co. Hist. Society 29
Albany Co. N. Y. Westerlo Cemetery, Inscription 31
Albany, New York.....128
Albers, Martha M..... 29
Alexander, Samuel 217
Alexander Co. Ill.....214, 223
Alexander Co. Ill. Cairo County Seat 207
Allen, (Rev.) Ira W..... .....3, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20
Allen, J. C.....126
Allen, Marries Hannah Bond....230
Allen, William J.....126
Allensville, Pa. Footnote..... 142
Alton, Ill. State Penitentiary Construction at Alton, law enacted 1827 225
Alumnus, Pub. Rock Island, Ill. Footnote 169
Alvord, Clarence Walworth..235, 236
Alvord, Clarence Walworth, Illinois Country 56, 57
America 167, 171, 174, 177, 178, 180, 181, 189
American Bottom, Illinois...190, 191
American Emancipation 131
American Emigrant Company.... .....180, 181
Footnote 181
American Lutheran Synods.....168
American Party 229
American Revolutions 136

PAGE

Americans 135
Americans, British Surrender of their lands to the Americans.. 55
Americans, Influence upon the Northwestern Indians 56
"Americanus" 128
Amerika—Bladet, Swedish Publication (Orebro) 178
Footnote 178
Amerika—Müde 122
Amerika, Swedish paper in Gothenburg, Sweden 178
Amerika, Swedish Publication...182
Footnote 181, 182
Amerikanska Posten, Swedish Publication. Footnote 173
Amherst (Gen.) Jeffrey. Baron Amherst 48
"Amicus" 128
Anan Harmon Chapter, D. A. R... 29
An Appeal to the Historical Society and the General Public.11-12
Anchor Line Steam Ship Co.....178
Andersen, Paul 168, 177
Anderson, (Mrs.) K. T..... 21
Anderson, Nils 182
Anderson, Palmer E..... 27
Andover, Ill. Swedish Colony....166
"An Illinois Democrat".....128
Annals of Georgia..... 29
Anne Arundel Co. Md.....189, 192
Annual Report of the Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society 24-28
Anthony, Elliot 126
Anti-Lutheran Journalists 174
Arbetaren. Footnote 174
Archer, Stevenson, Sr. of Maryland 202, 203
Archer, William R.....126
Archives, Vol. 33, Abstract of Wills, New Jersey..... 31
Arctic Ocean 40, 43
Arkansas State 179, 218
Armstrong, Zella 34
Arnold, Isaac N..... 72
Arundel, William 226
Atlanta, Ga. 29, 196
Atlantic Cable 160
Atlantic Cable, Laying of....156-159
Atlantic Ocean 75, 135
Augusta, Maine 139

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Augustana College 174
Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill. 184
Augustana Seminary 176
Augustana, Synod..168, 171, 172, 173
Austin Family 33
Austin, Texas 139
Australian Ballot 210

B

"The Background of the Constitution of Illinois—the Convention of 1870." 126
Bailey, Ebenezer, First lessons in Algebra 139
Bailey, Frederic W..... 30
Baker, John 133
Baker, Maude S. (Conrad)..... 33
Baltimore, Lord 192
Baltimore, Md. 189, 192, 229, 232
Baltimore Co. Md.....189
Bank of Cairo.....127
"Bank Reminiscences" 127
Banking Bill 127
Banks, Nathaniel P..... 60
Banks, Early ones in Illinois, State Bank Chartered branch banks 215
Baptist Church 169, 181
Barber, (Mrs.) W. A.....29, 31, 33
Barbour, Philip Pendleton of Virginia State 204
Barnard, George Gray 78
Barrett, Joseph Hartwell..... .....68, 70, 71, 72, 89, 93
Barrett, Oliver R. Footnote..... 69
Bartlett, David W. Presidential Possibilities 60, 67
Bartlett, David W. (Vandewater Tolden) 67, 89, 92
Bartlett, (Dr.) Josiah of New Hampshire State 202
Barton, Joshua Lindley..... 33
Barton, William Eleazar..36, 58, 116
Barton, William E. (A) Bibliography of Biographies of Abraham Lincoln 86, 116
Barton, William Eleazar. Biography as a Creative Art.....76, 80
Barton, William Eleazar. (The) Lincoln of the Biographers 58, 116
Barton, William Eleazar. List of Lincoln Books 115
Barton Family 33
Bates, Edward 60, 61, 64, 133
Baytop Family 33
Beckes, (Miss) Sophia.....229

PAGE
Beckwith, Hiram W.....235
Beecher, Henry Ward.....45, 181
Beeman, Mabel 30
Bell, James 18
Bell, John 60
"Belle of the West" Steamboat..136
Footnote 136
Belleville Advocate 127, 130, 133
Belleville, Illinois 16, 23, 129, 132, 133
Belleville, Ill. Early duel in....218
Bellingham, Washington State... ..... 195, 196, 197, 199
Bellingham, Washington State Bay View Cemetery.....198
Benjamin, Reuben 126
Bennett, William. Duel with Alonzo Stuart 1819.....218
Benson, Godfrey Rathbone (Lord Charnwood) 75
Benton, (Col.) Thomas Hart....218
Berks Co. Pa.....82, 135, 136
Berks Co. Pa. Historical Society. 31
Berry, (Col.) Elijah Conway.....208
Berry, (Col.) Elijah. State Auditor 208, 212, 220
Beveridge, (Sen.) Albert Jeremiah 73, 76, 116
Bibb, (Dr.) William Wyatt of Georgia 202, 203
Bibliography of Biographies of Abraham Lincoln compiled by William E. Barton 86, 116
Biggs, William 191, 199
Big Knives, Clark Soldiers so called 54
Biographical sketches of Distinguished Marylanders 30
Bird, Robert Montgomery.....124
Births, Marriages and deaths of Newton, Conn. 29
Bishop Hill Ill. Swedish Colony in 166, 169
Bissell, (Gov.) William H..... .....129, 133, 229
Bissett, Clark Prescott..... 75
Black, Chauncey F.....72, 100
Black Hawk, Sauk Warrior..... 56
Black Hawk State Park at Rock Island 21
Black Hawk War..... 82
Black, (Hon.) Jeremiah S..... 72
Blackman Family 33
Bladh, P. J. Footnotes.167, 177, 179
Blair, Ruth 29
Bland battre folk och pack. Swedish Publication. Footnote.179
Blanding, L. C..... 27
Blegen, John. Footnote.....178, 182

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Bloomington, Illinois .....
.....3, 61, 62, 84, 137, 140
Footnote 59
Bloomington Leader, Newspaper
.....138, 142, 158, 164
Bloomington, Ill. Leader Jan.
1888. Footnote 138
Bloomington Pantagraph ...142, 152
Footnote 152, 158
Blue Licks 55
Bohannan, A. W..... 33
Bonaparte, Napoleon 43
Bond, (Mrs.) Achsah...192, 232, 233
Bond, (Mrs.) Achsah. Wife of
Gov. Shadrach Bond.....192
Bond, (Mrs.) Achsah. Wife of
Shadrach Bond, death, Feb. 29,
1844 233
Bond, (Miss) Ann.....189
Bond, (Miss) Ann. Wife of Ed-
ward Fell 192
Bond, (Miss) Belle 229
Bond, (Dr.) Benjamin 228
Bond, Benjamin.....198, 230, 233
Bond, Benjamin Alvin 196
Bond, Benjamin, brother of Gov.
Bond. Political career....228, 229
Bond, (Dr.) Benjamin. Medical
and Military history.....196
Bond, Benjamin. Son of Peter
Bond, Jr. 189
Bond, Benjamin. Son of Thomas
Bond 229
Bond, (Dr.) Benjamin Nicode-
mus....187, 195, 197, 198, 199, 210
Bond, (Dr.) Benjamin Nicode-
mus. Marries Mary Esther
Jones 195
Bond, (Dr.) Benjamin Nicode-
mus. Son of Shadrach Bond...231
Bond, (Capt.) C. A.....197
Bond, Charles Frederick 195
Bond, Charles Frederick. Marries
Libbie Jenkins 195
Bond, Daniel 192
Bond, Edward Rogers 192, 195
Bond, Edward Rogers. Marries
May Elliott 195
Bond, (Miss) Eleanor 189
Bond, (Miss) Elizabeth 189, 192
Bond, (Miss) Eliza Lucretia.....195
Bond, (Miss) Emma 229
Bond, Fell 192
Bond, Francis Lewis 195
Bond, George 229
Bond, (Miss) Hannah 193, 230
Bond, (Miss) Helen 189
Bond, Henry Fell 196
Bond, Herbert Cecil 196

PAGE

Bond, (Miss) Hester 229
Bond, (Miss) Isabelle..193, 195, 220
Bond, Jacob 192
Bond, Jacob. Eldest Child of
Thomas Bond Sr.....192
Bond, (Miss) Jemina.....189
Bond, John 189, 192
Bond, John. Son of Peter Bond
Jr. 189
Bond, Joshua 192, 230
Bond, Joshua. Brother of Gov.
Bond 229
Bond, Joshua. Son of Parmenus
Bond 229
Bond, Joshua S. of Washington,
D. C. 229
Bond, (Miss) Julia Rachel.....194
Bond, (Miss) Lois Mary..... 195
Bond, (Miss) Margaret 189, 192
Bond, (Miss) Martha.....192
Bond, (Miss) Mary.....189, 229, 230
Bond, (Miss) Mary Achsah.....194
Bond, (Mrs.) Mary Esther.....187
Bond, (Mrs.) Mary Stevenson...190
Bond, (Miss) May 229
Bond, (Miss) Mettie.....229
Bond, Nicodemus 189
Bond, Nicodemus Jr. Brother of
Gov. Bond 230
Bond, Nicodemus Sr. 191
Bond, Nicodemus. Son of Joshua
Bond 229
Bond, Parmenus 229
Bond, Peter 192
Bond, Peter Jr.....189
Bond, Peter Sr. 189, 192
Bond, Peter III. Son of Peter
Bond Jr. 189
Bond, (Miss) Phoebe.....189
Bond, Richard Jr.....189
Bond, Richard Sr.....190
Bond, Richard III.....230
Bond, Richard. Son of Joshua
Bond 229
Bond, Richard. Son of Peter
Bond Jr. 189
Bond, (Miss) Ruth 189
Bond, (Miss) Ruth Ethel.....195
Bond, (Miss) Sarah 189
Bond, (Miss) Sarah. Wife of
William Fell 192
Bond, Shadrach Sr. .....
189, 190, 191, 199, 224, 225, 228, 230
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Admin-
istration receipts and expendi-
tures during term of.....217
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Advo-
cated the Construction of the
Illinois and Michigan Canal...219

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Born at Fredericktown, Frederick Co. Maryland 189
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Buried in Chester, Randolph Co. Ill....230
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Characteristics 220, 227
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Death of, April 12, 1832.....230
Bond, (Mrs.) Shadrach. Early religious services in home of...193
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Education 226
Bond, Shadrach. Elected Governor of Illinois 208
Bond, Shadrach. Family....194, 234
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. First Governor of Illinois under Statehood 191
Bond, (Col.) Shadrach. For representative in Congress at large, vote by counties.....223
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Gave to Illinois a fairly good administration 220
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. General Assemblies attitude toward....219
Bond, (Gov.) Home of, in Randolph Co., Ill.....206
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Home of, one of the first brick residences in Illinois.....206
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Inaugurated as Governor of Ill...211, 212
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. "Infair" at home of.....194
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Inscription on Gov. Bond's monument Evergreen Cemetery, Chester, Ill. 231
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Judicial career, Illinois Territory.....206
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Justice of the Peace of St. Clair Co., appointed by Ninian Edwards, Governor of the Territory.....206
Bond, (Col.) Shadrach. Legislative Career 205
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Legislative Career, Illinois Territory. 199, 200
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Message to the second General Assembly, State of Illinois.....214
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Military Career 201, 206
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Oil painting of, in Chicago Historical Society 198

PAGE

Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Old home of, almost disappears.....233
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Opposed to slavery 222, 228
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Opposed to the State Bank and the Stay-Law 219
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Ostewig, Kinnie. Life of Shadrach Bond, the first Governor State of Illinois 187-234
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Owner of slaves in Maryland.....193
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Painting of, by Charles Stuart.....203
Bond, (Mrs.) Shadrach. Painting of, by Charles Stuart.....203
Bond, Shadrach. Political controversy with Rice Jones.....200
Bond, (Col.) Shadrach. Public offices held by, in the Territory of Illinois 206, 207
Bond, (Col.) Shadrach. Receiver of Public moneys at Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory 205, 206
Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Religious affiliation 226
Bond, Shadrach, Slavery, liberates his slaves 193
Bond, Shadrach Cuthbert 195
Bond, Shadrach Cuthbert. Marries Clara Vassie Graves..... 195
Bond, Shadrach III 229
Bond, (Miss) Sophia 229
Bond, Sterling P. 229
Bond, (Miss) Susan 229
Bond, Thomas 189, 229
Bond, Thomas Jr. 192
Bond, Thomas Shadrach. Eldest son of Governor Bond.....194, 233
Bond, Thomas Sr.....192
Bond, Thomas III 192
Bond, Thomas. Son of Joshua Bond 229
Bond, Thomas. Son of Peter Bond Jr. 189
Bond, Thomas W. 192
Bond, Thomas William 195
Bond, Thomas William. Marries Clara Davie 195
Bond, William 189, 192
Bond, William. Son of Peter Bond Jr. 189
Bond Co. Ill.....208, 223
Bond Co. Ill. Established Jan. 4, 1817 208
Bond Home. Bond Estate now only a dream..... 234
Bond. Meaning of the name.....230

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Bond Party in Illinois.....213
Bond Party in Politics State of Illinois 207
Boone, Daniel 119
Borglum, Gutzon 78, 79
Boston, Mass. 94, 129
Botts, John Minor..... 60
Bottsford, (Miss) Clarissa.....140
Bowen, A. L.....126, 127
Bowen, Alice, M..... 30
Bowman, John 53
Boyle, Esmeralda 30
Bradley, J. W..... 89
Brainerd, Lawrence 33, 34
Brant, Joseph, Mohawk Chief.... 55
Breckinridge, John C..... 60
Bredberg, (Rev.) Jacob..... .....167, 168, 172
Breese, (Judge) Sidney.....132, 133
Breese, (Col.) Sidney. Conveys archives of the State from Kaskaskia to Vandalia.....213
Briggs, Morris H..... 87
Footnote 64
"Bright Metal" by T. S. Stribling 42
Brinkerhoff, George M..... 27
British Army 47
British Government. Not until 1774 made any provision for the welfare of the frontiersmen of the Northwest..... 48
British-man-of-war off the coast of Virginia 50
British policy of buying Indian friendship 56
British Posts on the Missisippi.. 48
British surrender of their lands to the Americans..... 55
British, The 121
British Traders 55
Britt, (President) Albert..... 36
Britt, Albert. President Knox College, Galesburg, Ill..... 39
Britt, Albert. Truth Telling—a difficult and dangerous art..39, 46
Brockett, L. P.....71, 72
Bronson, William White..... 32
Brown, James Edgar..... 27
Brown, John 45
Brown, Jas. W. Footnote.....137
Brown, Warren 207
Browne, Thomas C.....221
Browne, Thomas C. Associate Justice State of Illinois.....212
"Browning Diary" 24, 25, 236
Browning, Orville H.....71, 126

PAGE
Browning, Orville Hickman. Diary 236
Brownsville, Ill. 215
Brumbaugh, Gaius M..... 30
Bryan, Silas W.....126
Bryce Commission Report..... 41
Bryson. Married to Sarah Bond.189
Buchanan, President James..... 72
Buck, Solon Justus.....235
Buffalo, New York.....128
"Bullion" 127
Bunker High School, McLean Co., Ill. 140
Footnote 141
Bunn Family 33
Burger, (Capt.) H. A...178, 181, 182
Footnote 182
Burke, Edmund 52
Burnet, Jacob 191
Burns, (Mrs.) Kate Yoder. Footnote 163
Burrall, Arthur 21
Burton, John E..... 90
Butler. Married to Phoebe Bond.189
Byrns, L. H..... 22
Byron's poems 128

C

Cahokia 48
Cahokia, Great Council at, Aug., 1778 53
Cairns, (Mrs.) Caldwell.....190, 193
Cairns, (Miss) Mary Stevenson..190
Cairo, Ill. Company formed for site of, 1817.....207
Cairo, Ill. Special Charter from the Territorial Legislature of Ill. to incorporate.....207
Calhoun, (Hon.) John..... 26
Calhoun, John Caldwell.....202, 203
California State, Los Gatos. Footnote 62, 63
Camden, N. C. Muster Roll Infantry Co. 31
Cameron, Simon 61
Campbell, Alexander. Followers in Illinois 136
Canada 49, 51, 56
Canadian Archives, Papers..... 57
"The Cancer of Radicalism".....128
Canisius, Dr. Theodore. Footnote 69
Cannon, Newton, of Tennessee State 204
Carbondale, Illinois 3
Carleton, (Sr.) Guy. Edward Abbott, letter to Carleton quoted.. 52

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Carleton, (Sr.) Guy.....51, 52
Carlin, Thomas 224
Carlock-Benson Settlement, Woodford Co., Ill.....137
Carlock, Ill. Footnote..137, 139, 164
Carlock, Ill. Lantz Cemetery near 138
Carlsson, (Rev.) Erland.....172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177
Footnote 177
Carlyle, Thomas 135
Carlyle (Clinton Co.) Ill.....229
Carriel, (Mrs.) Mary Turner.... 27
Carson, May Hawley..... 30
Carter, Clarence Edwin.....235, 236
Carter, Orrin N..... 27
Cartmell, T. R..... 33
Cassandra, Greek prophetess..... 45
Cassel, Peter of Iowa.....166
Footnote 166
Castle Family 33
Castle Garden, New York.....176
Catherwood, Mary Hartwell "Old Kaskaskia" 201
Catlett Family 33
Centennial Building, Springfield, Ill. 17
Centennial Celebration at Belleville 133
Centripetal Power 160, 161
Century Magazine 73
Cervin, A. R.....184
Footnote 171
Chamberlain, C. R..... 21
Champaign, Ill. 195
Chapter of Sons of the American Revolution 21
Charles, (Dr.) Joseph.....194
Charles, (Mrs.) Susan Achsah...194
Charleston, Ill. 59
Charnwood, Lord (Godfrey Rathbone Benson) 75
Chase, Salmon P.....60, 61, 64
Chattanooga, Tenn. 196
Chautauqua Association, Sangamon County, Ill..... 20
Chelan Co., Washington State...195
Cherokee Indians 49, 51
Chester, Randolph Co., Ill.....17, 194, 195, 196, 199, 233
Chester (Randolph Co.) Ill. Bond (Gov.) Shadrach buried in Chester, Ill. 230, 231
Chester, Ill. Evergreen Cemetery in 233
Chevalier, Michael 120, 122
Cheves Langdon 202
Cheves Langdon of South Carolina 203, 204

PAGE
Chicago, Ill..20, 30, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64
Chicago, Ill. Historical Society.....20, 25, 198
Chicago, Ill. "Press and Tribune". 61
Chicago, Ill. Republican Convention, 1860 60
Chicago River 166
Chicago, Nilsson Christina in Chicago 173, 174
Chicago, Swedish Churches.....166
Chicago. Swedish Colony. Stephenson, George M. The stormy years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the great fire.. 166-184
Chicago, Swedish Immigration..167
Chicago, Swedish Immigrants.....166, 167
Chicago, Swedish Newspapers in.166
Chicago, Swedish Societies in...166
Chili, South America..... 98
Chippewa Indians 51
Chittenden, Martin, of Vermont..202
Choate, Joseph 40
Christian Brethren, religious organization 149
Churches, Baptist Church ..169, 181
Churches, Congregational Church 197
Churches, Episcopal Church 167, 168, 172, 174
Churches, Immanuel Swedish Church 168
Churches, Luthern Church..170, 174
Churches, Lutheran, Norwegian Lutheran Church 168
Churches, Mennonite Church.....149, 155, 162
Churches, Mennonite Church, North Danvers Mennonite Church. Footnote.....138
Churches, Methodist Church.....169, 174, 193, 194, 197
Churches, Methodist Church. Early formation of, in Illinois·193
Churches, Methodist Episcopal Church.....149, 150, 226, 232
Churches, Presbyterian Church.....132, 133, 150, 197
Churches, Rock Creek Church, Mennonite 150, 155
Churches, Society of Friends.... 81
Churches, St. Ansgarius Church.....167, 168
Footnote 168
Churches, Swedish Lutheran Church 167, 168, 171
Churches, Swedish State Church.172
Churches, Quaker 62
Cilley, Bradbury 204

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Cincinnati, Ohio 68, 89
Cincinnati, Ohio. Territorial General Assembly at, Feb. 4, 1799..190
Cinnati 121
Circuit Riders 123
Civil War 140, 166, 168, 176, 180
Civil War, see War of the Rebellion 15, 76, 187
Footnote 136
Civil War, Copperheads.....157
Clabaugh. Married to Belle Bond 229
Clark (Dr.) Abia B. Footnote...162
Clark (Mrs.) Anna Joder. Footnote 138
Clark, Benjamin. Footnote.....161
Clark, Edward 32
Clark, George L..... 29
Clark, George Rogers.....
..17, 48, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 119, 190
Clark, George Rogers. Accomplished diplomat in Indian affairs 53
Clark, George Rogers. George Rogers Clark. Papers, 1771-1781 235
Clark, George Rogers. George Rogers Clark. Papers, 1781-1784 236
Clark, George Rogers. Indian diplomacy 54
Clark, George Rogers. March on Kaskaskia and occupation changed the course of Indian Diplomacy in the west..... 53
Clark, George Rogers. Memorial. 17
Clark, Joseph J. Footnote.....160
Clark, Mary. Footnote.....143
Clark, (Professor) Olynthus..... 36
Clark, Olynthus Joseph Joder, Schoolmaster-Farmer and Poet 1797-1887 .....135, 165
Clark Co. Ill.....214, 223
Clay, Henry....83, 156, 202, 203, 204
Clay, Henry. Appointed United States Peace Commissioner....204
Cleaveland, Harry H..... 18
Clendenin, Henry Wilson.....16, 18
Clinton (Gen.) George.....202
Clinton Co. Ill.....229
Cobb (Capt.) Howell.....60, 202
Coffin, Charles Carleton..... 74
Cole, Arthur Charles.....236
Cole, C. B..... 27
Cole, Mordecai 189
Coles, Edward. Elected to the Governorship of Illinois.....221
Coles, Edward. Register of the Land Office at Edwardsville....221

PAGE
Collier (Miss) Sophia.....230
Collier, William Jr.....230
Collier, William. Marries Mary Bond 230
Colorado River 139
Columbus, Ga. 1827-1865..... 29
Columbus, Ohio 68, 69
Comings, L. J..... 29
Committee on Banks and Corporations in the Legislature of 1841-1847 127
Comyges, John G.....207
Condell, Thomas 27
Congerville, Ill. 136
Congo River 44
Congregational Church 197
Conkling Family 33
Connecticut State 29, 202
Connecticut, History of..... 29
Connecticut. Marriages prior to 1800 29
Connolly (Major) John..... 51
Connolly's Own Narrative in Penn-Mag-Hist & Biog. Vol. XII..... 57
Constanty, Married to Ann Bond..189
Constitution of the Illinois State Historical Society 8, 10
Constitution of the State of Illinois 1818, provisions of.....208
Constitution of the United States. 70
Constitutional Convention, State of Illinois 1847.....229
Constitutional Convention of 1870 .....132, 134
Continental Congress 50
Continental Fire Insurance Company 178
Cook, Daniel Pope..210, 218, 222, 224
Cook, Daniel P. Attorney-General of Illinois 212, 220
Cook, Daniel Pope. For Representative in Congress-at-Large, vote by counties 223
Cooper, James F.....119
"Copperheads" Civil War.....157
Corn Stalk. Shawnee Chief..... 53
Counties of Md. Scrap book of newspaper clippings 30
Cove, Oregon. Footnote.....163
Craig, Alfred M.....126
Craig, James P. Married Isabella Fell Bond.....195
Crawford Co. Ill.....208, 223
Crawford, William Harris of Georgia 202, 222, 224
Crawford's Expedition. Disaster of 55
Cresswell, Nicholas. Journal of.. 56
Crockett, Davy 119

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Crockett Family and Connecting Lines 34
Cronsioe, Svante 169, 170
Crosby, Frank 71
Crow, Judge 133
Cumberland Gap 49
Cummings, (Rev.) J. E..... 21
Cummings, Samuel P.....126
Cunard Line Steamship Co.....182
Currey, J. Seymour..... 27
Cushman, Esther C..... 87
Footnote 64

D

Dagslyset, Swedish publication...183
Danvers, Ill. 155
Danvers, Ill. Stout's Grove near.157
The Dark and Bloody Ground...124
Dartmouth, Earl of..... 52
Dashiell, Benjamin J..... 33
Dashiell Family 33
Daughters of the American Revolution Lineage Books, Nos. 100-106 34
Davie, (Miss) Clara.....195
Davis, (Judge) David..... 71
Davis, Jefferson 60
Davis, J. McCan.....74, 105
Davis, T. G. C.....133
Day, ———. Married Ann Fell...192
Dayton, Tennessee 45
Daytona Beach, Florida..... 3
Dearborn Co., Indiana.....199
Declaration of Independence.....231
De Lange, Frederick..... 27
Delaware Indians.....51, 53, 54
Delaware State Historical Society, Wilmington, Del..... 15
Dement, John 126
Democracy in America.....122
"Democrat" 128
Democratic party .....
...131, 173, 207, 209, 221, 222, 228
Democratic-Republican Party 205
Democratic State Convention....129
Deneen, (Senator) Charles S....132
Deneen, (Rev.) William L.....132
Denkmann, Frederick C..... 27
Denmark 180
Denney, (Mrs.) Ruth Beckett... 36
Den Swenske Republikanen. Swedish Publication 184
Footnote 173
DePeyster, (Capt., later Major) Arent Schuyler 47, 51
Detroit, Michigan 47, 51, 55
Devil's Bake Oven, Jackson Co., Ill. 193

PAGE

Dickens, Charles 121
Dickinson, David S..... 60
Dickinson. Married Martha Bond 192
Dill, (Judge) James M.....133
Diller, (Mr.) Isaac R..... 26
"Divisionists" party known as, connected with division of North West Territory 200
Dixon, George C.....3, 20
Dixon, (Lee Co.) Ill.....3, 195
Dodge, (Gen.) Henry.....217
Domestic manners of the Americans 121
Douglas, Stephen Arnold.....
.....60, 64, 66, 69, 71, 85, 88, 133
Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Lincoln and Douglas debates..... 69
Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Lincoln-Douglas debates, 1858. Illinois Historical Collections Vol. 3 235
Douglas, Stephen Arnold. Squatter Sovereignty Policy.....156
Douglas Family 33
Doyle, Cornelius J.....3, 20
Draper Manuscripts in Wisconsin Historical Library..... 57
Drinkwater, John 75
Dryden's Poems 128
Dry Grove Township, McLean Co., Ill. 137
Duelling. Governor and Judges Illinois Territory framed a stringent law against duelling.201
Duels. Early one in Illinois, between Alonzo Stuart and William Bennett 218
Duels. Jones-Bond Duel.....200
Duncan, (Mrs.) Emma Joder. Footnote 143
Duncan, (Gen.) Joseph. Later became Governor of Illinois...220
Duncan, (Gov.) Joseph.....228
Dundore 121
Dunkards 149
Dunlap, (Dr.) James.....200, 201
Dunlap, (Dr.) James. Kills Rice Jones 201
Dunmore, Lord 49, 50, 51
Dunmore, Lord Governor of Virginia 49
Dunmore's War. Thwaites and Kellogg 56
Dunn, Frank K..... 24
Dwight, (Dr.) Timothy.....121
Dyche, (Mrs.) Grace Locke Scripps.....67, 91, 106
Footnote 67
Dyson, Howard F..... 22

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

E

"Eagle Creek," Monroe Co., Ill. 190, 192
Earl, Alexander 34
Earl, MacLennan 34
Early Massachusetts Marriages.. 30
Eddy, Henry 217
Edgar, (Gen.) John.....190, 226
Edgar Co., Ill.....223
Edson Family 33
Edson, George T..... 33
Education, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.....184
Education, Baliol Oxford England 75
Education. Brown University Library 87
Footnote 64
Education. Bunker Hill School, McLean Co., Ill.....140, 141
Education. Chester County Academy, West Chester, Pennsylvania 81
Education. Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.....135
Education. Friends School, Philadelphia 81
Education. Gen. Assm. passes a law for the incorporation of Academies and Towns.....219
Education. Hudson River Academy, New York.....128
Education. Illinois College, Jacksonville 19
Education. Illinois Knox College, Galesburg 39-46
Education. Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington 140
Education. Illinois McKendree College 67, 91, 132
Education. Marietta College, Ohio 69
Education. Monticello Seminary.132
Education. Prairie School, early school in Illinois near Carlock.140
Education. University of Illinois, College of Journalism..... 16
Education. Westown School, Chester County, Penn..... 80
Education. Yale University..... 75
Edwards, Cyrus 33
Edwards Family 33
Edwards Co., Ill.....208, 223
Edwards Faction, Political history, early date, Illinois..·209, 210
Edwards, (Gov.) Ninian 133, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225
Edwards, Ninian. Governor of Illinois Territory.....206, 207, 221
Edwards party in Politics, State of Illinois 207

PAGE

Edwardsville, Ill. 205, 215
Edwardsville, Ill. State Bank.. ..... 127, 224
Eggleston, Edward 123
Eicher, (Rev) Benjamin.....162
Footnotes 138, 162
Eighteenth or Royal Irish under Capt. Hugh Lord..... 48
Ekvall, C. A.....178, 180, 182
Footnote 178
Eldorado Springs, Missouri.....195
Elkhart, Ind. 142
Elliott, (Miss) May.....195
Ellis, (Mr.) referred to in a letter of Henry Hamilton, June 1781.. 56
Ellis, James Alfred..... 33
Elzas, Barnett A..... 32
Emancipation Proclamation 70
Emerson, Ralph Waldo.....114
Emmerson Gov. Louis Lincoln... 18
Enander, J. A.....184
Footnote 183
Enander, Johan A.....167, 171, 172
Footnote 169, 172, 173
Encyclopedia of American Biography, Vols. 32-36..... 34
End of the World.....123
Engberg, A. E. W.....197
England 189, 190, 192
English, (Mrs.) Sara John....16, 25
Ensor. Married to Jemina Bond..189
Episcopal Church 167, 172, 174
Erickson, (Rev) E. W.....197
Erie Canal 166
Esh, Jacobine 135
Eskimo tribes 40, 41
Eslov, Sweden 179
Europe 180
Evanston, Ill. 3
Evansville, (Randolph Co.) Ill. 195, 196
Evening Journal, Springfield, Ill..126
Evergreen Cemetery, Chester, Randolph Co. Ill.....230, 231, 233
Expositions, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.....233

F

Fäderneslandet. Swedish Newspaper 170
Fairbault, Minn. Footnote.....143
Fairfax Family 33
Fairhaven Presbyterian Church..197
Fairhope, Ala. 29
Fayette Co., Ill.....213, 223
Fearon, H. B.....121
Fectig, (Miss) Mary.....229
Fell, (Miss) Ann.....192

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Fell, (Miss) Catherine. Wife of Thomas Bond III.....192
Fell, Edward 192
Fell Family 192
Fell, (Miss) Fanny. Footnote.62, 63
Fell, (Miss) Jeannette.....192
Fell, Jesse W.....61, 62, 67, 80
Fell, (Miss) Margaret.....192
Fell, William 192
Few. Married Jeannette Fell....192
"A Few Words to Honest, Intelligent Laborers" 128
Field, A. P.....133
Fifield, Charles L..... 27
Findlay, (Gen.) James.....190
Finks, Mike 119
First Lessons in Algebra by Ebenezer Bailey 139
Fish, Judge Daniel.....59, 70, 92
Fisher, (Dr.) George...199, 200, 226
Fithian, (Dr.) William..... 26
Fithian, (Mr.) William E..... 26
Flint, Timothy 120
Florida State. Daytona Beach... 3
Florida State. Lakeland, Florida. Footnote 161
Florida. Miama, Florida.....140
Fogelberg, J. A.....178, 179, 180, 182
Foley, P. K..... 94
Follet, Foster and company publisher, Columbus, Ohio.....68, 69
Forbes, (Gen.) John..... 49
Ford, Harry Pringle..... 31
Ford, (Gov.) Thomas. History of Illinois 188
Foredrag om Amerika. Footnote.183
Forest Life 123
Forsyth, John of Georgia.....204
Fort de Chartres..... 48
Fort de Chartres. British possession of 48
Fort de Chartres. French surrender of 48
Fort Dunmore 49, 50
Fort Gage, Ill.....17, 19, 48
Fort Gage. Left defenseless..... 51
Fort Kaskaskia. Resolution to mark spot of..... 19
Fort Miami. (Now Fort Wayne) 49
Fort Michilimackinac. Location. 47
Fort Pitt 50, 51, 56
Fort Pitt. Captured from the French in 1758..... 49
Fort Sackville 54
Fort Stanwix. Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768..... 49
Fort St. Joseph..... 49
Fort Wayne, Ind..... 49
Foss, C. W. Footnote.....169

PAGE

Foster, (Mrs.) Julia E.....195
Foster, William P. Associate Justice State of Illinois.....212
Fouke, Philip B.....133
Fouke, Phillip P.....130
Fox Indians 54
Fox, (Rev.) Richard E..... 27
France 49, 180
Franklin, Benjamin 43
Franklin Co., Ill.....208, 223
Fraternal Societies. Ancient order of Free and Accepted Masons, first lodge in Illinois, Kaskaskia, 1806 226
Fraternal Organizations. Grand Lodge of Masons of Illinois organized at Vandalia, 1822.....226
Fraternal Organizations. Masons 197, 226
Frederick Co., Md.....189, 191
Frederick, Md. 51
Fredericktown, Frederick Co., Md. 189
Freesoilers. Political Party.....156
Fremont, John C..... 60
French 119, 122
French, J. P. C..... 34
French and Indian War..... 47
French and Spanish methods of treating the Indians..... 53
French Traders 55
Friends, religious organization..149
Friman Bros. in Wisconsin.....166
Fry, George A. Footnote.....139
Fuller, Miles A.....126
Fulton Co., Ill.....223
Fulton Co., Ohio. General Conference Mennonite Church, 1870 155

G

Gage, (Gen.) Thomas..... 51
Gaither, Mary E..... 33
Galbraith, James 226
Galesburg, Ill. 3, 39, 76
Galesburg, Ill. Swedes in.....166
Gallagher, William D.....120
Gallatin Co., Ill...208, 213, 215, 223
Gallatin Co., Ill. Ohio Saline in Gallatin Co., Ill.....225
Galloway, Hon. Samuel..... 90
Galva, Ill. 169
Footnote 174
Gamble, (Gov.) Hamilton Rowan of Missouri 196
Garland, Hamlin 125
Garrett, Clyde B..... 33
Garrett Family 33

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Garrison, James 190
Gary, George 29
Gautier de Verville, Charles..49, 55
Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire..... 30
Genessee Falls 128
Geneva, Ill. 30
Gentleman's Magazine, 1776..... 57
George Rogers Clark celebration. 25
Georgia State .....
.....29, 202, 203, 204, 222, 224
Georgia State, Atlanta, Ga.....196
Georgia State. Historic Georgia Families 29
Gerber, Anna. Footnote.....143
Germain, Lord George..... 52
Germans. Footnote 66
Germany 41, 180
Gerry, Elbridge, of Massachusetts 203
Gerstacker, Frederick 122
Gettysburg, Pa. 70
Gibson, ———. Married Elizabeth Bond 192
Giddings, (Miss) Josephine.....140
Gihl, Axel 178
Gill, (Miss) Eleanor, wife of Peter Bond, Jr.....189
Gillespie, (Hon.) Joseph....133, 134
Girty, Simon, Loyalist..... 55
Glen Ellyn, Story of an Old Town 29
Glenn, John M..... 27
Glenview, Ill. 29
Godfrey, Benjamin 132
Goethe, German Poet.....140
Gold, Thomas R., of New York..202
Goldsborough, Charles Washington 202, 203
Goodsill, M. C..... 27
Göteborgs, Handels och Sjofarts-Tidning, Swedish Publication. Footnote 181, 182
Göteborgs-Posten, Swedish Publication 174
Footnote 173, 174, 183
Gothenburg, Kansas 182
Gothenburg, Sweden .....
.....176, 178, 180, 184
Footnote.....172, 174, 176, 177
Gott, ———. Married to Ruth Bond 189
Gott, (Miss) Rachel, wife of Shadrach Bond, Sr.....189, 191
"Government and Laws".....132
Graff, (Mrs.) J. C..... 22
Graham Family 33
Grand Army of the Republic, J. B. Steedman Post No. 24.....197
Grand Tower, Jackson Co., Ill...196
PAGE
Grand Trunk Railway.....178
Grant, Ulysses S.....182
Graves, (Miss) Clara Vassie.....195
Great Britain 180, 231
Great Britain. Congress of the United States. Declared war against, June 19, 1812.....201
Great Kanawha River..... 53
Great Lakes 49, 54, 118, 166
Greely, Horace 61, 62
Greenback Party 210
Green Bay, Wis.....49, 51
Greene, Evarts Boutell.....3, 20, 235
Greene Co. Ill.....214, 223
Greenville, Ill. 209
Grund, (Dr.) 119
Grundy, Felix of Tennessee State 202, 203

H

Habicht, C. E. Swedish consul...181
Halbert, R. A.....132
Hale, John P..... 60
Haliburton, Thomas C.....124
Hall, Clayton Colman..... 30
Hall, James 120, 208
Hall, Mitchel 30
Halsingborg. Footnote 174
Hamilton, Henry 48, 53, 56
Hamilton, (Gen.) Henry. Capture of at Vincennes..... 55
Hamilton, Henry. Informs the Indian council he would protect them from any attacks of the Virginians 51, 52
Hamilton, (Col.) Richard Jones..229
Hamilton, William 51
Hamilton, William. Opposes the American emissaries 51
Hamilton Co., Ill.....223
Hamlin, Hannibal .....
.....59, 65, 69, 87, 88, 91
Hammond, James H..... 60
Hanaford, Mrs. Phebe Ann....71, 101
Hand, (Gen.) Edward..... 53
Hanson, Alexander Contee.....204
Hanway, Castner 81
Harden Co., Ky..... 81
Harker, (Judge) Oliver A.....132
Harman, John William..... 33
Harman Family 33
Harmon, Ada Douglas..... 29
Hartford City, N. C..... 31
Hartford, Conn. 29, 180
Hartford Co., Md.....189
Harris, Thomas H.....207
Harrison, John 128
Harrison, (Gen.) William Henry.227

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Hartzell, Joseph 194
Hartzell, William 194
Harvey, B. A..... 27
Hasselquist, (Rev.) T. N.....
.....169, 171, 172, 176, 184
Hauberg, John H.....3, 15, 17, 20, 21
Hauberg, (Mrs.) John H..... 21
Hauck, William 128
Hawkinson, P. L. Swedish consul 181
Hay, John 25, 71, 73
Hay, (Hon.) John B.....133
Hay, John. St. Clair Co., Ill.....
.....199, 400
Hay, Logan 3, 20
Hay, Milton 126
Hayes, John Lord.....69, 91
Hays, Snowden 126
Hayward, Silvanus 31
Helm, T. B..... 30
Hemlandet 177
Footnote 177
Hemlandet, Svenska Amerikanaren 174
Footnote 174
Hemlandet. Swedish Publication
.....169, 170, 171, 172, 183, 184
Footnotes..... ..169, 181, 182, 183
Henderson, William 33
Henderson Family 33
Henry, Patrick 53
Henshie Family 33
Henshie, Lura May..... 33
Hentz, (Mrs.) Caroline.....124
Herald of Truth Periodical..142, 164
Herndon, William Henry.....
.....71, 73, 94, 98, 100, 103
Hibben, Paxton 45
Hierta, Lars Johan.....169
Hildreth, C. F..... 27
Hildrop, Jesse S.....126
Hill, Frederich Trevor.....116
Hirsch, (Prof.) Arthur H.....
.....36, 117, 125
Historic Camden, S. C..... 32
Historic Georgia Families..... 29
Historic Harpswell, Maine..... 30
Historical Association Report, St. Clair Co. 23
"Historical Sketch St. Clair Co., 1876" 133
Historical Society Report. Schuyler Co., by Howard F. Dyson... 22
Historical Values in the Mid-Century Literature of the Middle West 117-125
History of Allegany Co., Md..... 30
History of Allen Co., Ind..... 30
History of Burlington, N. J..... 31

PAGE
History of Claremont, N. H..... 31
History of Deerfield, Ill..... 29
History of Fox River Valley, Ill... 29
"History of Illinois".....126
History of Lexington, Ky..... 30
History of Northfield, Mass..... 31
History of Old Pendleton District. 32
History of Paris, Maine..... 30
History of Raynor, Mass..... 31
History of Stoneham, Mass..... 31
History of the town of Wayne, Maine 30
Hitchcock, Alison B..... 32
Hockhocking River 53
Hoffgen and Schneider Publishers, Chicago, Ill. 70
Holland, Josiah G.....71, 72
Holman, Alfred L..... 33
Holmes, Edward Fell 194
Holmes, Joseph B., Jr.....194
Holmes, (Mrs.) Joseph B.....233
Holmes, Joseph B. Marries Mary Achsah Bond 194
Holmes, Mary 124
Holmes, (Miss) Mary Isabella...194
Holmes, Oliver Wendell.....114
Holmes, Shadrach Bond.....194
Holmes, William M.....194
Homer. Poet 140
"Hoosier School Boy, The".....123
"Hoosier School Master, The"...123
Hopkins, David W.....130
House of Burgesses, Virginia.... 50
House of Representatives.....129
Howard, James Quay.....70, 90, 92
Footnote 67
Howells, William Dean....70, 90, 91
Footnote 67
Hubbard, Adolphus Frederick....208
Hubbell, Nebraska. Footnote....161
Hudson River 166
Hudson River Academy, New York 128
Hughes, Rupert 42
Huguenot Pedigrees 34
Huidekoper Family 33
Huidekoper, Frederic Louis..... 33
Hull, Samuel 193
Humphreys, (Col.) Edward.....207
Hunter, (Maj.) Charles W.....207
Hunter Family 34
Huntsville, Ala. 196

I

Idaho, Lewistown, Idaho. Footnote 160
Iles, Elijah 224
Iles, Washington 26

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Illinois and Michigan Canal....219
Illinois Blue Book, 1927-1928..... .....126, 127
Illinois Central Railroad Land Company 178
Illinois, Charleston, Ill..... 59
Illinois Country 48, 51, 56, 200, 213, 220
Illinois Country. Alvord, Clarence W. Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. I..... 56
Illinois Country. John Rice Jones, Lawyer in the Illinois Country 200
Illinois Country. Nasatir, A. P. The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country, during the American Revolution 56
Illinois River...23, 55, 136, 212, 219
Illinois State. Admitted to the Union Dec. 3, 1818. Twenty-first State 209, 212
Illinois State. American Bottom 190, 191
Illinois State. Anti-slavery and pro-slavery candidates for the Governor of Illinois.....221
Illinois State. Archives of, early ones conveyed from Kaskaskia to New Capital at Vandalia...213
Illinois State. Attempt to make a Slave State of, 1824.....228
Illinois State Bank, Chartered..215
Illinois State Bank, State Bank of Illinois.....214, 215
Illinois State Banking Law passed by the Second General Assembly 216
Illinois State. Bond party in politics, State of Illinois.....207
Illinois State. Bond, Shadrach, elected Governor of Illinois....208
Illinois State. Bond, Shadrach, emigrates to Illinois.....191
Illinois State. Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach. Receipts and expenditures during administration...217
Illinois State. Capitol building. Representatives hall 78
Illinois State. Census, early.....214
Illinois State Centennial, 1918..234
Illinois State. Cholera epidemic, 1855 138
Illinois State. Circuit Court.....194
Illinois State Circular, an outline for study of the State.....236
Illinois State Constitutional Convention, Aug. 3rd, 1818...207, 208

PAGE

Illinois State. Constitution of, modeled largely upon the constitutions of Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana 208
Illinois State Constitution of 1818. Governor has large appointing power 208
Illinois State Constitution of 1818. Governor not eligible to succeed himself 221
Illinois State Constitution, 1818. Power of the General Assembly 208
Illinois State Constitution, 1818. Provisions of 208
Illinois State Constitutional Convention, 1847 229
Illinois State Constitutional Debates of 1847.....236
Illinois State Contributions to State History 185-234
Illinois State Convention called to make Illinois a Slave State.222
Illinois State Council of Revision 219
Illinois State County Archives of Illinois 236
Illinois State, County of Virginia.191
Illinois State Department of Public Works and Buildings..... 18
Illinois State Duels in—early one, between Alonzo Stuart and William Bennett 218
Illinois State. Early settlers....209
Illinois State. Edwards faction political party, early date in Illinois 209, 210
Illinois State. Edwards party in politics, State of Illinois.....207
Illinois State. Eighth Judicial District 79
Illinois State. Election returns, 1818-1848 236
Illinois State. Enabling Act, April 18, 1818.....207
Illinois State. First constitution.190
Illinois State. First General Assembly, personnel 211
Illinois State. First General Election, principal issues.....211
Illinois State. Ford, (Gov.) Thomas, history of Illinois...188
Illinois State. Genealogical collection in Illinois State Historical Library. Complied by Georgia L. Osborne.....236
Illinois State. General Assembly of 79

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Illinois State. Glen Ellyn, Story of an Old Town..... 29
Illinois State. Governors' letter books 235
Illinois State. Grand Lodge of Masons, organized at Vandalia, Fayette Co., 1822.....226
Illinois State. Historical collections 56
Illinois State. Historical collection list 235-236
Illinois State Historical Collections, Vol. VIII..... 57
Illinois State Historical Library 7, 36, 59, 68
Footnote 169
Illinois State Historical Library and Society. An appeal to the Historical Society and General Public 11, 12
Illinois State Historical Library. Civil War Collection..... 59
Illinois State Historical Library Collections 7
Illinois State Historical Library. Genealogical works in, compiled by Georgia L. Osborne.....236
Illinois State Historical Library papers read at Annual Meeting 37-184
Illinois State Historical Library. Publication list 235-236
Illinois State Historical Society 1, 3, 7-12, 15-20, 23, 58, 59, 66, 87, 91, 188
Illinois State Historical Society. Annual Business Meeting.....17-20
Illinois State Historical Society. Annual Meeting Program..... 36
Illinois State Historical Society Constitution. Article I, Name and Objects 8
Illinois State Historical Society Constitution. Article II, Officers of the Society, their election and duties.....8, 9
Illinois State Historical Society Constitution. Article III, Membership 9, 10
Illinois State Historical Society Constitution. Article IV, Meetings and Quorum..... 10
Illinois State Historical Society Constitution. Article V, Amendments 10
Illinois State Historical Society. Editorial note 7
Illinois State Historical Society. Genealogical Report 15

PAGE

Illinois State Historical Society. Journals 7, 236
Illinois State Historical Society. Minutes of the Meeting of Board of Directors 1929.....15-16
Illinois State Historical Society Publications. List 235-236
Illinois State Historical Society Transactions 91
Illinois State History of Deerfield, Ill. 29
Illinois State History of Fox River Valley 29
Illinois State Journal..... 25
Illinois State, Kane County. Atlas, Kane County 1872..... 30
Illinois State Laws. Code. Early one adopted, or copied from the Statutes of Virginia and Kentucky 212
Illinois State Legislature. (General Assembly) 17, 79
Illinois State Library..... 68
Illinois State. Logan County Biographical Record 30
Illinois State. Lotteries in, authorized by law.....219
Illinois State. Menard County, Ill. Past and Present..... 30
Illinois State Mennonite Conference, held in 1866..... 153
Illinois State. Montgomery County, Ill. Past and Present..... 30
Illinois State. Montgomery Co. Illinois Records 30
Illinois State. Mormons in Illinois 187
Illinois State. Moses, John. History of Illinois.....188
Illinois State. New Design. Monroe Co., Ill.....190
Illinois State. Newspapers and Periodicals of 1814-1879.....235
Illinois State. Northern Boundary 207
Illinois State. Olson, E. W. History of the Swedes in Illinois Footnote 168, 174
Illinois State. Over one hundred years old 187
Illinois State Penitentiary at Alton, Ill. Law enacted 1827.....225
Illinois State. Pioneers of Illinois. 231
Illinois State. Pope, Nathaniel. Influence in securing northern boundaries of the State of Illinois 207
Illinois State Prairies.....136

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Illinois State. Prairies of Illinois 137
Illinois State. Reynolds, John. History of Illinois.....188
Illinois State. Salaries of early State officers 218
Illinois State. Second Capital, Vandalia 213
Illinois State. Slavery, early debates on, in Illinois.....210
Illinois State. Slavery, trying to make Illinois a Slave State....187
Illinois State Society. Daughters American Revolution 29
Illinois State Supreme Court..... .....207, 219, 221, 224
Illinois State Supreme Court Reports, vol. 79.....134
Illinois State. Swedes in Illinois. History of, by E. W. Olson. Footnote 174
Illinois State Territorial Laws, 1809 to 1811, 1809 to 1812..235 236
Illinois State Territorial Records.235
Illinois State Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill.....140
Illinois Territory 132, 201, 203, 209, 221, 232
Illinois Territory advanced to the rank of a territory of the second grade 190
Illinois Territory. By act of Congress, Feb. 3, 1809..... 199
Illinois Territory. Edwards, Ninian. Governor of Illinois Territory 206, 207
Illinois Territory. First preemption law 205
Illinois Territory. Governor and judges of, framed a stringent law against duelling.....201
Illinois Territory. Immigrants to.205
Illinois Territory. Part of Indiana Territory 191
Illinois Territory. Pope, Nathaniel, Secretary of 207
Illinois Territory. Territorial Gen. Assm., Feb. 4, 1799.....190
Illinois Territory. Territorial Laws, 1809-1811, 1809-1812.235 236
Illinois Territory. Territorial Records 235
Independent Democrats. Political Parties 156
Indiana State 17, 30, 82, 123, 152, 194, 208, 218, 219
Indiana State. Dearborn Co. Ind..199
Indiana State. History of Allen Co. Ind. 30

PAGE

Indiana State. Indianapolis..... 17
Indiana State. Legrange Co. Ind...155
Indiana Territory 191, 199, 200, 202, 203, 226, 227
Indiana Territory. By Act of Congress Feb. 3, 1809.....199
Indian Diplomacy during the Revolution in the West, by Louise Phelps Kellogg.....47-57
Indian Diplomacy. Notes on...56, 57
Indians 21, 118, 119 122, 128, 187, 193, 203, 209, 219, 232
Indians. American influence upon the Northwestern Indians... 56
Indians. Black Hawk. Sauk Warrior 56
Indians. Brant, Joseph. Mohawk Chief 55
Indians. British in control of the Western Indians 47
Indians. British policy of buying Indian friendship 56
Indians. Cahokia, great Council at, Aug. 1778.....53, 54
Indians. Cherokee Indians....49, 51
Indians, Chippewa Indians..... 51
Indians. Clark, George Rogers. Accomplished diplomat in Indian affairs 53
Indians. Clark, George Rogers, Indian diplomacy 54
Indians. Congress, May 25, 1776, resolves that it is highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United Colonies 52
Indians. Cornstalk, Shawnee Chief 53
Indians. Delaware Indians....51, 54
Indians. Fox Indians..... 54
Indians. French and Spanish methods of treating the Indians 53, 54
Indians. Illinois..... 23
Indians. Jefferson's instructions to the indians 54
Indians. Kellogg, Louise Phelps. Indian Diplomacy during the Revolution in the West.....47, 57
Indians. Mohawk Indians..... 55
Indians. Ottawa Indians..... 51
Indians. Potteowattamie Indians. 51
Indians. Sac (or Sauk) Indians. 56
Indians. Seneca Indians 51
Indians. Shawnee Indians.49, 51, 55
Indians. Shawnee Chief, Cornstalk 53
Indians. Siggenauk or Blackbird. 54
Indians. Sioux Indians..... 54
Indians. Winnebago Indians..... 54

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Indians. Wyandott Indians....50, 51
Indianapolis, Indiana 17, 123
Ingersoll, Charles Jared.....204
Iowa State 75, 166, 200
Iowa State. Washington, Iowa...162
Footnote 138
Ireland, Frank N..... 27
Ireland 180
Irish Traders. Scotch and Irish traders in the Old Northwest.. 48

J

Jackson, (Gen.) Andrew....209, 222
Jackson, Fred 22
Jackson, W. H..... 19
Jackson Co., Ill....193, 196, 208, 223
Jackson Park, Chicago.....233
Jacksonville, Ill. 3, 16
James, Edmund J., Ph. D.....235
James, Dr. James A.....17, 19
James, James Alton.....
.....3, 15, 16, 20, 235, 236
James, (Mrs.) Josephine Giddings. Quoted on Joseph Joder
..... 140, 141
Jamison, (Mrs.) Isabel.....17, 20
Janson, Eric 169
Jarrot, Madame Julia.....130
Jarrot, Peter 130
Jayne, (Dr.) Gershom.....225
Jeansson, (Capt.) R. E.....181
Jefferson, Thomas 205
Jefferson, Thomas. Instructions to the Indians..... 54
Jefferson Co., Ill.....214, 223
Jenkins, (Miss) Libbie.....195
Jennings, Jonathan, of Indiana Territory 202, 203
Jesuit Missionary House in Kaskaskia 48
Joder / Yoder } Iddo 141
Footnotes 142, 143
Joder / Yoder } Joseph 136
Joder, Joseph. Ancestry.....135
Joder, Joseph. Business Activities 161
Joder, Joseph. Characteristics, traits, pecularities, talents....161
Joder, Joseph. Clark, Olynthus. Joseph Joder, Schoolmaster—Farmer and Poet, 1797-1887...
..... 135-165
Joder, Joseph. Death of.....138
Joder, Joseph. Devoutly religious man 149
Joder, Joseph. Early poems by..142
Footnote 142

PAGE

Joder, Joseph. Education limited
..... 138, 139
Joder, Joseph. Foe to intemperance 159
Joder, Joseph. Habits, etc.....162
Joder, Joseph. Hospitality.....164
Joder, Joseph. Interested in perpetual motion 160
Joder, Joseph. Poems.....158, 159
Joder, Joseph. Poem written for Fourth of July celebration at Stout's Grove 157
Joder, Joseph. Scrap book. Footnotes 156, 157, 158, 159
Joder, Joseph. Student of Ancient languages 140
Joder, Joseph. Weaver, (Rev.) William B. Quoted on Joseph Joder 154
Joder / Yoder } Magdalene 136
Joder, Mary.....143, 161
Footnote 143
Joder Family 137
Johnson, A. E.....182
Johnson, (Dr.) C. M..... 27
Johnson, (Dr.) Charles B..... 27
Johnson, (Hon.) Charles P.....133
Johnson, Richard M.....133
Johnson, (Col.) Richard Mentor
..... 202, 203
Johnson Co., Ill.....208, 223
Johnson Co., Ky..... 30
Joliet, Ill. 16
Joliet, Ill. Chamber of Commerce 18
Jones, Arthur B..... 27
Jones-Bond Duel. Originated at Kaskaskia, 1808 200
Jones, (Dr.) C. T.....195
Jones, Fernando, Esq..... 62
Jones, Fernando. Letter from Abraham Lincoln quoted..... 62
Jones, (Gen.) George Wallace...200
Jones, John Rice. In the Illinois Country 200
Jones, (Miss) Mary Esther.....195
Jones, (Col.) Michael.....
.....207, 213, 214, 226
Jones, Rice.....199, 200
Jones, Rice. Killed by Dr. James Dunlap 201
Jones, Rice. Political controversy with Shadrach Bond.....200
Jones, W. Mac..... 33
Juniatta, Pa. 136
Justitia. Swedish Publication....
.....175, 176, 181, 183
Footnotes..176, 178, 181, 182, 183

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

K

Kane, Elias Kent.....208, 212, 222
Kane, Elias Kent. Secretary of State, Illinois.....211, 220
Kane County, Atlas, Kane Co., 1872 30
Kansas City, Mo.....194
Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854.....156
Kansas-Nebraska Bill 84, 127
Kansas State 84, 85
Kansas State, Gothenburg, Kansas 182
Kansas Township. Rock Creek Area, Woodford Co., Ill.....137
Kaskaskia, Illinois ..... .17, 19, 200, 201, 209, 229, 230, 233
Kaskaskia. "Ancient Order of Free and Accepted Masons," first lodge at Kaskaskia, 1806..226
Kaskaskia. Bond, (Col.) Shadrach, Receiver of Public Moneys, at 205, 206
Kaskaskia. Catherwood, Mary Hartwell, "Old Kaskaskia"....201
Kaskaskia. Constitutional Convention, State of Illinois held in Aug. 3, 1818.....207, 208
Kaskaskia. Destruction of.....234
Kaskaskia. Early officials of the State from 211
Kaskaskia. Home of Gov. Bond in Randolph Co.....206
Kaskaskia. Jesuit Missionary house 48
Kaskaskia. Jones-Bond duel.....200
Kaskaskia. Land office.221, 224, 225
Kaskaskia or Okaw River.....233
Kaskaskia. Old Territorial Capitol building 226
Kaskaskia, Randolph Co., Ill.....195
Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790....235
Kaskaskia River 190
Kaskaskia Territorial and State Capitol 211
Kauffman, (Mrs.) Jonas.....138
Kauffman, Jonas. Footnote.....137
Kellogg, (Dr.) Louise Phelps.... 36
Kellogg, Louise Phelps. Indian Diplomacy during the Revolution in the West.....47-57
Kelly, (Miss) Barbara.....230
Kennebec River, Maine.....139
Kennedy, Robt. M..... 32
Kennedy, Thomas 27
Kent, Chancellor 81
Kentucky 55, 124

PAGE

Kentucky River 49
Kentucky State.....30, 51, 81, 82, 195, 202, 203, 204, 208, 209, 212, 215
Footnote 61
Kentucky State. History of Lexington, Ky. 30
Kentucky State. Johnson County, Ky. 30
Keplinger, Martin L..... 27
Kidd, Robert 190
King, William Rufus of North Carolina 202, 203
King's Regiment under Capt. Richard Lernoult 48
King's Proclamation of 1763..... 49
Kinney, William 133, 224
Kirkland, Katharine Mathilda... .....122, 123
Kirkland, Thomas J..... 32
Kitchell, Joseph 208
Kjellberg, Isidor 174, 175, 176, 177, 181, 182, 183, 184
Footnote 167, 171, 173, 174, 178, 182, 183
Knapple, (Mrs.) Frances Yoder. Footnote 139, 163
Koerner, (Lieutenant Governor) Gustavus 129, 130, 136
Kossuth, Lajos (Eng. Louis)....127
Kristianstads-Bladet. Swedish Publication. Footnote.....180-181
Ku Klux Klan.....130
Kürnberger, Ferdinand 122

L

Lafayette, Ind. 49
LaFayette, Marquis de.....122
LaGrange, Ill. 3
Lake Erie 204
Lake Huron 47
Lakeland, Florida. Footnote.....161
Lake Michigan ..47, 54, 207, 212, 219
Lake Superior and Mississippi Railway 181
Lamon, Dorothy (Mme. Teillard) 73, 104
Lamon, Ward Hill. Life of Abraham Lincoln 63, 72, 100, 104
Land Office at Kaskaskia....224, 225
Lane, Joseph 60
Lange, (Capt.) O. G.....173, 180, 182
Langlade, Charles Michel de, of Green Bay.....49, 51, 55
Lantz, Catherine 136
Lantz, Christian 136
Lantz, John 136

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Lantz, John K. Footnote.....163
Lantz, (Mrs.) Lydia M. Footnote 163
Lantz, Milo P.....153
Footnotes 137, 141, 142, 153, 156, 157, 160, 164
Lantz Cemetery near Carlock, Ill. 138
Lapham, Wm. B..... 30
Larson, Laurence M.....3, 20
Lart, Charles E..... 34
Law, John 127
Lawrence, George A.....3, 20
Lawrence Co., Ill.....223
Lee, Robert E..... 94
Lee Co., Ill.....188, 195
Legislature of Illinois..... 82
Legrange Co., Ind.....155
Lernoult, (Capt.) Richard..... 48
Letters. Cadwallader, G..... 24
Letters. Connolly, (Maj.) James Austin 24
Letters. Douglas, Stephen A. Original letters 24
Letters. Herndon, William H.... 24
Letters. Lincoln, Abraham ..24, 25
Letters. Lincoln, Betsy 25
Letters. Piper, Sibil 25
Letters. Rice, James M. Commission 24
Letters. Wallace, (Col.) W. H. S. 24
Letters. Yates, (Gov.) Richard.. 24
Letters. Young, Brigham 24
Levasseur, Pierre Emile..... 122
Lewis, Andrew 50
Lewis, Enoch 80
Lewis, Joseph J.....61, 63, 66, 80, 87
Lewis, Joseph J. First published life of Abraham Lincoln....80, 87
Lewis, Joseph J. Sketch of...80, 81
Lewiston, Idaho. Footnote.....160
Lexington, Nebraska. Footnote... .....139, 163
Libby, Charles Thornton..... 30
Library of Congress.....67, 72
Lillard Family 34
Lillard, Jacques E. Stout..... 34
Lilly, Ill. Footnote.....136
Lincoln, Abraham.....15, 18, 24, 26, 43, 58, 116, 130, 137, 197
Lincoln, Abraham, and the Overthrow of Slavery by Isaac N. Arnold 72
Lincoln, Abraham. Beadle and Company dime novel.....70, 71
Lincoln, Abraham. Birth of Lincoln Biography 59
Lincoln, Abraham. Campaign Biographies 1860-1864 63-70

PAGE
Lincoln, Abraham. Cooper Union Speech 60
Lincoln, Abraham. Emancipation Proclamation 70
Lincoln, Abraham. First Lincoln Biography 80-87
Lincoln, Abraham. House-divided speech, reference 156
Lincoln, Abraham. (The) International Lincoln 113, 114
Lincoln, Abraham. Letter to Fernando Jones, 1860 quoted..... 62
Lincoln, Abraham. (The) Liberator and Martyr.....94, 100
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of Abott, Abott A. Editions 1864-1865.93, 94
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Agresti Antonio 1913.....11
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Aitken, W. Francis.....111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Alger, Horatio Jr. 1883.....101
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Anderson, Albert 1910.....110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Andrews, Samuel C. 1868-69..... 99
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Arnaud, Achille 1865..... 96
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Arnold, Isaac Newton, 1866-1885 .....97, 99, 101
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Atkinson, Mrs. Eleanor (Stackhouse) 1908 109
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Bacon, George Washington 1865 96
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Baldwin, James 1896, 1904.....104, 107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Barrett, Joseph Hartwell 1865, 1866 1904 .....93, 95, 98, 107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Bartlett and Vose in German 1860.. 92
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Bartlett, David Vandewater Golden 1860 .....67, 68, 89, 92
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Barton, William Eleazar 1925, 1927 114-116
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, (Basset?) 1865 95
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Beale, J. E. Jr. 1909.....109
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Beets, Henry 1909 110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Beveridge, Albert Jeremiah 1928.. .....73, 76, 116

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Binns, Henry Bryan 1907.....108
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Bissett, Clark Prescott 1923.....114
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Britt, Albert 1925 115
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Brockett, L. P. 1865..... 95
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Brooks, Eldridge Streeter 1896, 1902 .....104, 107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Brooks, Noah 1888, 1894, 1901 .....102, 104, 106
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Browne, Francis Fisher 1913..111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Browne, Frances Fisher 1886..102
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Browne, Robert Henry 1901...106
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Bungener, Laurence Louis Felix 1865, 1866 .....97, 98
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Camacho, Roldan Salvador 1865, 1925 115
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Campbell, Helen Mary LeRoy 1909 109
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Canisius, Dr. Theodor 1867.... 99
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Charnwood, Godfrey Rathbone Benson 1916, 1917.....113
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Cochin, Augustine 1869..... 99
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Coffin, Charles Carleton 1893.....104
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Colfax, Schuyler 1865..... 96
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Corchado, Manuel 1868..... 99
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Courtenay, Calista McCabe 1917 113
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Cravens, Frances 1900, 1903.....106
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Crosby, Frank, 1865.....96, 112
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Curtis, William Eleroy, 1903...107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Dyche. Mrs. Grace Locke Scripps. The first published life of Lincoln. Footnote..... 67
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Elias, Mrs. Edith L., 1916, 1920..113, 114
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, (In) Foreign Language 92, 96, 99, 102, 105, 107, 110, 112

PAGE

Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, French, Charles Wallace, 1891.103
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Goldsmith, Marcus A., 1918....112, 113
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Gordy, Wilbur Fisk, 1917.....113
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Gray, William Cunningham, 1867.... 98
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Gridley, Eleanor, 1900.....106
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Grube, August Wilhelm, 1878..100
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hamilton, Mary A.....112
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hanaford, (Mrs.) Phebe Ann, 1865, 1881, 1895.....96, 101, 104
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hapgood, Norman, 1899.....105
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hart, Charles Henry, 1870.....100
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hart, Franklin W., 1927.....116
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Heath, Virginia, 1905.....108
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Herndon, William H., 1889, 1893.... ..... 100, 103
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Herndon, William H. and Weik, Jesse W., 1893, 1928.....103
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hicks, George, 1879 100
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hill, Frederick Trevor, 1928.....116
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hoffmann, Wilhelm, 1867.....99, 112
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Hoffman, Urias John, 1926.....115
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Holland, Josiah Gilbert, 1865, 1866 .....96, 97
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Howells, William Dean, 1860.90, 91
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Irelan, John Robert, 1888.....102
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Japanese 111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Jennings, Janet, 1909.....109
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Kadmus, Kristofer, 1866..... 98
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Kakita, J. 112
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Kamenskavo, A. B., 1891.....112
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Ketcham, Henry, 1901, 1904....106

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Koht, Halvdan, 1909 110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Koren, Al. V., 1901.....107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Lamberton, John Porter, 1890.....103
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Lamon, Ward Hill, 1872, 1895, 1911 .....63, 100, 104
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Lesperut, A., 1865..... 97
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Lovett, Richard, 1890.....103
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, MacKenna, B. Vicuna, 1866..... 98
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, McSpadden, Joseph Walker, 1922.114
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Madison, (Mrs.) Lucy Foster, 1928.116
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Maltby, Charles, 1884.....101
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Manoel, Jose 112
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Marais, Aug. 112
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Marsh, Levi Gardner, 1899....105
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of Mathews, Stella Tyler, 1923....114
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Matsumura, (Rev.) K.....111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Miller, Frances Trevelyan, 1910..110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Moores, Charles Washington, 1909 109
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Morgan, James, 1908.....109
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Morning Star Pamphlet, 1865..... 99
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Morse, John Torrey 1893.....104
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Mott, Edward Harold 1908, 1909.....109
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Mudge, Zachariah Atwell 1867..... 99
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Mumford, (Mrs.) Mary Eno (Bassett) 1865 95
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Newton, Joseph Fort 1910.....110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Nicolay, Helen 1906.....108
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Nicolay, John George 1882, 1890, 1902 .....101, 103, 106
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Nichols, Clifton Melvin 1896...104

PAGE

Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Norton, Eliot 1911.....111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson 1904.....107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Otto Emil 1897 105
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Pascal, Cesar 1865..... 96
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Peterson, O. M. 1889.....102
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Phillips, Isaac Newton 1901, 1910.. .....106, 110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Pickens, William 1910.....111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Portraits and Biographies, Wrightson and Co., 1867..... 99
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Power, John Carroll 1875, 1882, 1889 .....100, 101, 102
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Putnam, Harriet 1906.....108, 111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Putnam, M. Louise 1892.....104
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Rasmussen, H. 1882.....101
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Raymond, Henry Jarvis 1864...70, 93
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Realistic Lincoln 100, 103
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Reiter, Harriet G. 1906, 1910... .....108, 110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Retcliff, J. 1866..... 98
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Rothschild, Alonzo 1906, 1917..108, 113
Lincoln, Abraham, Life of, Ross, Riley R. 1910.....110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Rudd and Carleton 1860 Wigwam Edition 87, 88
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Rutherford, William G.....111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Sandburg, Carl 1926, 1928.....115,116
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Schurz, Carl 1907, 1908, 1919, 1920 .....108, 110, 114
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Scripps, John Locke, 1860, 1900..... .....64, 66, 67, 70, 91, 106
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Selby, Paul 1902 107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Sharp, John Alfred 1919.....113

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Sheppard, Robert Dickinson 1898, 1913 .....105, 110
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Shirley, Ralph 1919.....113
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Smith, George Barnett (188-).....101
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Smith, (Prof.) Goldwin 105
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Smith Samuel G. 1902.....107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Snider, Denton Jaques 1908....109
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Sparhawk, Frances Campbell 1907..108
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Stephenson, Nathaniel W. 1922, 1924 114
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Stoddard, William Osborn 1884, 1888, 1900, 1905.....102, 106, 107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Strunsky, Rose 1914.....111
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Tandy, F. D. Company 1905.....107
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Tarbell, Ida Minerva 1896, 1900 1921 .....105, 114
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Tarbell, Ida M. and Davis, J. McCan 1896 105
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Thayer and Eldridge 1860 Wide Awake Edition 65, 88
Footnote 65
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Thayer, William Makepeace 1863, 1864, 1865, 1882, 1897.... .....65, 92, 93, 97, 100, 101, 105
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Townsend, George Alfred 1867. 98
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Vaughn, Olive 1925.....115
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Victor, Orville James 1864, 1865... ..... 70, 93, 97
Footnote 70
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Vose, Reuben 1860 .....65, 88
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Warren, Louis Austin 1926.....115
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Whipple, Wayne 1908, 1909, 1915, 1923 .....108, 109, 111, 114
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Whitlock, Brand 1909, 1916....109, 113
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Whitney, Henry Clay 1908.....108

PAGE

Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Wide awake Thayer and Eldridge Edition 1860 65
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Wigwam Edition Rudd and Carleton 87, 88
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Williamson, David Brainerd 1865, 1866 .....94, 95, 97
Lincoln, Abraham. Life of, Wright, Mrs. Anna Maria Rose 1925 115
Lincoln, Abraham. Lincoln-Douglas debates 73, 156
Lincoln, Abraham. (The) Lincoln of the Biographers by William E. Barton.....58, 116
Lincoln, Abraham. (The) Lincoln of the Present and the Future 114, 116
Lincoln, Abraham. Lincoln, the Liberator and Martyr.....70, 73
Lincoln, Abraham. Lincoln Room Illinois State Historical Library 15
Lincoln, Abraham. Monument Resolution 15, 17, 18
Lincoln, Abraham. Play. Drinkwater, John 113
Lincoln, Abraham. Portraits..78, 79
Lincoln, Abraham. Tomb of..... 17
Lincoln, Abraham. Unique Life of Lincoln in German 1860..... 92
Lincoln of the Biographers by William E. Barton.....58, 116
Lincoln, (Mrs.) Abraham.....101
Lincoln, Abraham Sr..... 81
Lincoln, Robert Todd.....67, 73, 103
Lincoln Co., Kansas.....179
Lincoln-Douglas Debates 1858. Illinois Historical Collections Vol. 3 235
Lincoln Land Company.....179
Linder, Oliver 184
Linder, Usher F.....133
Linkoping, Sweden.....174, 183
Footnote 178
Litchfield, England 75
Little, John S.....20, 22
Livingston, (Col.) Robert LeRoy.202
Livingston Co., Ill.....155
Lockwood, Samuel Drake, Attorney-General State of Illinois... .....217, 220
Lofgren, Andrew 184
Logan, (Maj. Gen.) John Alexander 196
Long, Harry Alfred..... 34
Lookout Mt. Tenn. battle.....196

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Loose, (Mr.) Robert D..... 26
Lord, (Capt.) Hugh.....48, 51
Lördags-Nisse. Swedish Publication 179
Lotteries. Authorized by law State of Illinois.....219
Louisiana. Spanish Louisiana... 49
Louisiana State.....179, 202, 204
Love. Married a Miss Bond.....192
Lovejoy, Elijah P..... 23
Loveless, Milo J.....235
Lowell, James Russell.....114
Lualaba River 44
Lundberg, C. O.....178, 179, 181
Footnote 179
Lundstedt, Bernard 184
Lutheran Church 170
Lutheran Observer 184

M

McAvity, (Mrs.) George.....26
McAvity, (Mr.) George..... 26
McClellan, George Brinton..... 109
McClure, Samuel S..... 74
McClure's Magazine 74
McCormick, Joseph Medill..... 16
McCoytown, Pa. 136
McDowell, (Miss) Mary E..... 36
McGavack, (Miss) Cornelia, (Nelie). Footnote 158
McKee, William P.....225
McKendree College 132
McLaughlin, Robert K. Succeeds John Thomas as State Treasurer 220
McLean, John .....
.....60, 210, 214, 215, 217, 220, 222
McLean, John, of Ohio.....204
McLean Co. Ill.....146
McLean Co. Ill. Dry Grove Township, McLean Co. Ill.....137
McLean Co. Ill. Watkins, Supt. of Schools 139
McMillan, C. E..... 34
McMillan, W. F..... 34
McMillan Family 34
McNair, James Birtley..... 34
McNair Family 34
McPherson, (Rev) H. W..... 36
McRobert, Archibald 32
Macartney, (Rev.) John Robertson 197
Macauley, Thomas B.....135
Machieval, Mr. referred to by John Todd 54-55
Mackinac 47, 51, 54, 55
Mackinaw River 137, 139, 147

PAGE

Macon, Nathaniel of North Carolina State 202, 203
Macon County, Illinois..... 82
Macon Co. Missouri..... 179
Macpherson, (Mrs.) A. B..... 27
Madison, (Pres.) James.....
.....202, 203, 204, 205, 206
Madison, James Madison's Journal 41
Madison County, Ill.....
133, 208, 209, 215, 221, 223, 224, 225
Madison, Wis. 56
Maginnis, (Mrs.) Maud Lantz. Footnote 161, 163
Maine State 30
Maine State, Augusta, Maine.....139
Maine State. Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire 30
Maine State. Historic Harpswell. 30
Maine State. History of Cumberland Co. Maine..... 30
Maine State. History of Paris, Maine 30
Maine State. History of the Town of Wayne 30
Malden. British officers at Malden 56
Maloney. Married to Miss Mary Bond 189
Marble, J. N.....111
Marion Co. Ill.....223
Marquette 23
Marshall. (Chief Justice) John..127
Marshall, John. Life of, by Albert J. Beveridge..... 76
Martin, John H..... 29
Maryland State .....
30, 190, 191, 202, 203, 204, 228, 230
Maryland State. Anne Arundel Co. Md. 189, 192
Maryland State. Baltimore, Md. 229, 232
Maryland State. Baltimore Co. Md. 189
Maryland State. Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders 30
Maryland State. Counties of, scrap book of newspaper clippings 30
Maryland State. Frederick, Md... 51
Maryland State. Frederick Co. Md. 191
Maryland State. Fredericktown, Frederick Co. Md.....189
Maryland State. Hartford Co. Md 189

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Maryland State. History of Allegany Co. Md. 30
Maryland State. Narrative of Early Maryland 30
Maryland State. Record, Revolutionary and State..... 30
Massac County, Ill.....130
Massachusetts State .....
..30, 31, 68, 197, 202, 203, 204, 224
Massachusetts State. Early Mass. Marriages 30
Massachusetts State. History of Northfield 31
Massachusetts State. History of Rayner 31
Massachusetts State. History of Stoneham 31
Massachusetts State. Vital Records of Rawley 31
Mather, Thomas 217
Matteson, (Gov.) Joel..... 84
Mattson, (Col.) Hans.....170, 182
Footnote 176
Maxim, Silas P..... 30
Meadows, Livingston Co. Ill.....155
Mears, William 220
Medford, Oregon 194
Medill, Joseph 26, 91, 126
Meigs, (Col.) Return Jonathan..190
Memphis, Tenn. 207
Menard, (Lieut) Gov. Pierre....
.....199, 211, 220, 228
Menard, (Col.) Pierre. Lieut-Governor, State of Illinois.....
.....209, 210, 214
Menard County, Ill..... 82
Menard County, Ill. Past and Present 30
Mennonite Church 162
Mennonite Church. General Conference held in Fulton Co. Ohio 155
Mennonite Church. General Conference, held in Wayne Co. Ohio 1862 153
Mennonite Church. North Danvers Mennonite Church. Footnote 138
Mennonite Church, Rock Creek Mennonite Church 150
Mennonite Community. (Slabtown, Ill.) now extinct.....136
Mennonite. General conference at Fulton, Ohio 1870.....153
Mennonite Conference, Illinois, 1866 153
Mennonite Society, Ill.....137
Mennonites 149

PAGE

Mennonites' religious organization 149, 150
Mennonites, Smith, History of Mennonites in America. Footnote 149
Mennonites, Weaver, History of the Central Conference of Mennonites. Footnote 155
Merriam, (Mr.) 126
Messenger, John 199, 211, 220
Methodist Church .....
.....169, 174, 193, 194, 197, 198
Methodist Church. Formation of, in early history of Illinois.....193
Methodist Episcopal Church.....232
Miami, Florida 140
Miami River 55
Michigan 124
Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 57
Michigan State 54
Michigan Territory, Supreme Court 191
Middle West..118, 119, 120, 122, 124
Mifflin Co., Pa.....136
Miles, (Mr.) Referred to in article on Shadrach Bond.....193
Miller, Mr. 18
Miller, Mrs. Isaac G.....17, 19, 20
Miller, R. D..... 30
Millerite prophecies 123
Milwaukee, Wis. 54
Miner, Mary 81
Minnesota State. Fairbault, Minn. 143
Minnesota State Historical Society 184
Minnesota State. Swedes in Minnesota 166, 170
Minnesota Tidning. Swedish Publication 175
Footnotes .....
....167, 174-175, 176, 177, 178, 182
Missionary Newspaper 184
Missionary Ridge, Tenn. Battle..196
Mississippi Bottoms 123
Mississippi Conference of the Synod of Northern Illinois....169
Mississippi River 23, 55, 118, 166, 190, 193, 200, 207, 233, 234
Mississippi River, British Posts on 48
Mississippi River, Spain's posts on 48
Mississippi River, Spanish rule on 49
Mississippi State 202
Mississippi Territory 202

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Mississippi Valley..81, 118, 121, 166
Missouri Company 180
Missouri Compromise 84
Missouri Historical Collections, Vol. VI 57
Missouri Land Co.....178, 179, 180
Footnote 181
Missouri River 49
Missouri State.179, 194, 196, 207, 218
Missouri State, Eldorado Springs, Mo. 195
Missouri State, Kansas City.....194
Missouri State, St. Genevieve, Mo. 200
Mitchell, Phil 21, 27
Mitchell, (Dr.) Samuel Latham..202
Mizner, Henry C.....190
Moffat, Almet S..... 31
Mohawk Indians 55
Moline Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.... 21
Moline, Illinois 21, 27, 87
Moline, Ill. Swedes in.....166
Monroe, (Pres.) James.205, 220, 221
Monroe County, Ill.....
..129, 190, 191, 192, 208, 223, 228
Montgomery, (Col.) John..... 55
Montgomery Co., Ill.....223
Montgomery County, Ill. Records 30
Montgomery County. Past and Present 30
Monticello Seminary 132
Moore, Albert A..... 27
Moore, Ensley.....15, 19, 27
Moore, Ensley. Resolution on death of 15
Moore, (Mrs.) Ensley..... 27
Moore, James 190
Moore, (Gen.) James B. Noted Indian fighter, War of 1812....221
Moravian Missionaries 53
Moredoch, John 228
Morgan, George. Supervises Indian affairs at Fort Pitt..... 51
Morgan Co., Ill.....223
Mormons, State of Illinois.....187
Morris, Buckner Smith.....229
Morris, Lewis 50
Morrison, J. L. D.....133
Morrison, Robert 228
Morrison, Wm. R.....133
Morrow, Jeremiah of Ohio State.202
Morton, G. W..... 27
Moses, John. History of Illinois. 126, 188
Motala, Sweden 176
Motley, John Lathrop..... 44
Moulton Family 34
Mt. Vernon, Ill. 134
Mount Vernon, Virginia..... 42

PAGE
Murdoch, John Caspar.....193
"Murdoch Lake" in the New Design district, Monroe Co., Ill... ..... 192, 193
Murdoch's Exploits 193
Mutual Life Insurance Company.178
The Mysteries of Metropolisville.123

N

"Nach Amerika" 122
Narrative of Early Maryland.... 30
Nasatir, A. P. The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country, during the American Revolution 56
Nashville, Ill. 130
Nashville, Tenn. 192, 196
National Land Co.....180
Nebraska State 83, 196
Nebraska State, Hubbell, Nebraska. Footnote 161
Nebraska State, Lexington, Neb..163
Footnote 139
Needles, (Mrs.) Clara Halbert... ..... 36, 126
Nelson, (Rev.) David.....18, 20
Nelson, Fredrik 181
Nerikes Allehanda. Swedish Publication. Footnote 173
Neterer, (Judge) of Bellingham, Washington State 197
New Brunswick, St. John's..... 90
New Design, Ill....132, 190, 192, 206
New England 51
New England 137
New Garden, Penn..... 80
Newhall, Daniel H..... 87
Footnotes 64, 67
New Hampshire State...31, 202, 204
New Hampshire State. History of Claremont 31
New Hampshire State. History of Gilsum 31
New Jersey State.....31, 204
New Jersey State. Archives, Vol. 33, Abstract of Wills..... 31
New Jersey State. History of Burlington 31
New London 128
New Orleans, La.....48, 130
New Salem, Ill..... 82
Newton, Conn. Births, marriages and deaths of..... 29
New Whatcom, Washington State.197
New York City.....
.....3, 29, 43, 60, 87, 180, 181
Footnote 64, 162
New York State.....3, 31, 43, 51, 56, 61, 81, 87, 127, 130, 202, 204

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

New York State. Albany Co., Westerlo Cemetery Inscriptions 31
New York State. Cemetery Records 31
New York State. Colonial Documents, Vol. VIII..... 57
New York State. Gravestone Inscriptions of Katsbaan 31
New York State. Inscriptions of Ancient Cemeteries at Graycourt 31
New York State. Old Churches of Orange Co. 31
New York State. Orange County. 31
New York State. Ulster Co. Gravestone Inscription 31
Newspapers. Belleville Advocate 127, 130, 133
Newspapers. Bloomington, Ill. Leader 158
Newspapers. Bloomington Leader Jan. 6, 1888. Footnote.....138
Newspapers. Bloomington, Ill. Pantagraph 152, 164
Footnote 152, 158
Newspapers. Boston Journal.... 74
Newspapers. Boston Transcript.. 65
Newspapers. Chester County Times. West Chester, Penn.... .....61, 62, 81
Newspapers. Chicago News..... 16
Newspapers. Chicago Press and Tribune 61, 62, 66, 68, 91
Newspapers. Chicago Tribune.16, 69
Newspapers. Cincinnati Gazette. 68, 89
Newspapers. Den Swenske Republikanen i Norra Amerika...169
Newspapers. Denver Tribune.69, 91
Newspapers. Evening Journal, Springfield 126
Newspapers. Gothenburg Papers.174
Footnote 174
Newspapers. Hemlandet Lutheran, pub. at Galesburg.....169
Newspapers. Illinois State Journal 25
Newspapers. Illinois State Register, Springfield, Ill..... 16
Footnote 61
Newspapers. Lutheran Observer.184
Newspapers. Missionary 184
Newspapers. New York Post.... 67
Newspapers. New York Tribune 61, 62, 64, 69, 91
Newspapers. Ohio State Journal, Columbus 69

PAGE

Newspapers. Scott, F. W. Newspapers and Periodicals published in Illinois 1814-1879. Footnote.169
Newspapers. The Sentinel.....128
Newspapers. The Sun.....127
Newspapers. Swedish-American Journalism 172
Newspapers. Swedish-American Newspapers 184
Newspapers. Swedish Newspapers 166, 167, 170
Footnote.....170
Newspapers. Swedish Newspapers in America and Sweden. Stormy events in 174
"Niagara" 128
Nicolay, John George..... .....25, 67, 73, 101, 103
Footnote 67
Niles, Nathanial 133
Nilsson, Christian. Swedish Singer 173, 174, 176, 178
Footnote 173
Norelius, Erik. History of the Swedes in America.....168
Footnote 168
Normal, Ill. 145
Footnote 158, 162
North Carolina State....31, 202, 203
North Carolina State. Camden, N. C. Muster Roll Infantry Co. 31
North Carolina State. Colonial State and political history..... 31
North Carolina State. Hartford City, N. C..... 31
North Carolinians 49
North Danvers Mennonite Church 155
North Pole 43
Northwest Territory 17, 190
Northwest Territory. Slavery prohibited in 227
Northwest Territory. Special session of the Territorial Assembly 199
Northwest Territory. Territorial Legislative Council 199, 200
Northern Pacific Railway..... 181
Norway 180
Norwegian Lutheran Church....168
Nottingham, Stratton 32
Nya Verlden (Gothenburg) Swedish Publication. Footnote....178
Nya Verlden, Swedish Paper pub. at Galva, Ill. 171, 182
Footnote 182
Nya Wexjo Bladet, Swedish Publication. Footnote.....178, 181

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

O

Oak Grove, Ill.....163, 164
Footnote 162
Oakleaf, Joseph Benjamin.....
3, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 59, 87
Oak Park, (Cook Co.) Ill.....194
Oglesby, Anne Elizabeth White.. 26
Oglesby, (Gov.) Richard James.. 26
Oglesby, (Mrs.) Richard J..... 27
"The Ohio and Mississippi".....128
Ohio River .....
.....49, 51, 53, 81, 122, 136, 207
Ohio State.....50, 61, 68, 76, 85,
89, 90, 120, 123, 154, 202, 208, 215
Ohio State, Cincinnati, Ohio..68, 89
Ohio State, Mennonite Church...
..... 152, 153
Ohio State, Supreme Court..190, 191
Ohio Valley 118, 124
Okaw River 233
Old Churches of Orange Co.,
N. Y. 31
Old Northwest 47
Old Northwest. At the beginning
of the Revolution the old North-
west was Indian land..... 55
Old Northwest. British officials
succeed in winning to their
side Indians of..... 53
Old Northwest. Not inhabited
solely by soldiers and savages. 48
Old Northwest. Scotch and Irish
traders in 48
Oldroyd, O. H..... 66
Olson, E. W. Footnote.....169
Olson, E. W. History of the
Swedes in Ill. Footnote...168, 174
Onsdorf, A. P.....179
Orange Co., N. Y..... 31
Ordinance of 1787, quoted on
slavery 227
Orebro, Sweden 178
Oregon State 31
Oregon State, Central Point
Oregon 194
Oregon State, Cove, Oregon.
Footnote 163
Oregon State, Eagle Point,
Oregon 194
Oregon State. History of the
Manokin Presbyterian Church. 31
Oregon State, Medford, Oregon..194
Oregon State, Portland, Oregon.
Footnote 139
Oresunds-Posten. Swedish publi-
cation. Footnote.174, 176, 177, 182
Orr, James 60
Osborne, Georgia L.....35, 28, 236

PAGE

Osborne, Georgia L. An appeal to
the Historical Society and Gen-
eral Public 11, 12
Osborne, Georgia L. Annual re-
port of the Secretary Illinois
State Historical Society.....24-28
Osborne, Georgia L. Report of
the Committee on Genealogy.29-35
Osborne, Georgia L. Secretary-
Treasurer Illinois State His-
torical Society .....
.....3, 12, 15, 18, 20, 58, 87
Oshkosh, Wis. 29
Ostego 129
Osterhaus, (Maj.-Gen.) P. Joseph.196
Ostewig, Kinnie. Life of Shad-
rach Bond, the first Governor
State of Ill.....187-234
Ottawa Indians 51
"An Outline Study of Illinois
State History," by Jessie Pal-
mer Weber 132

P

Palmer, (Gen.) John.....3, 20
Palmyra, Ill. 215
"Paper Money in Payment of
Taxes" 128
Paris, Maine 30
Paris Peace Treaty..... 55
Park, Rogers 25
Parker, Theodore 34
Parker Family 34
Parks, Samuel C..... 126
Partridge, (Miss) Ann, wife of
Joshua Bond 192
Partridge, (Miss) Fanny, wife of
Jacob Bond 192
Patten, Henry J.....3, 20
Paul, (The Apostle).....151
Paxson, History of the American
Frontier. Footnote 136
Paxton, Ill. 174
Payne, Edward W.....16, 18
Peary, (Admiral) Robert Edwin. 43
Pease, Theodore Calvin.....
.....3, 15, 17, 20, 25, 236
Pease, (Mrs.) Theodore Calvin.. 25
Pekin, (Tazewell Co.,) Ill.....136
Penn, Phillip 130
Penn, William 135
Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. V... 57
Pennsylvania Dutch 138, 139
"Pennsylvania System." By Canal
and Tramway.....136
Pennsylvania State....31, 32, 61,
62, 63, 80, 82, 138, 190, 204, 205
Footnote 142

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Pennsylvania State, Allensville, Pa. Footnote 142
Pennsylvania State. Berks and Lebanon Counties History..... 31
Pennsylvania State, Berks Co., early narratives of..... 31
Pennsylvania State, Berks Co., Historical Society 31
Pennsylvania State, Chester County Times 61, 81
Pennsylvania State, Erie Co., History 32
Pennsylvania State. Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XII 57
Pennsylvania State. Mennonite Church of 152, 153
Pennsylvania State. Philadelphia, inscription in St. Peter's Church Yard 32
Pennsylvania State. Record of inscriptions in Burial Grounds of Christ Church..... 32
Pennsylvania State, West Chester 61
Peoria, Ill. 49, 129
Periodicals. Century Magazine 73, 74
Periodicals, Gentleman's Magazine 1776 57
Periodicals, Herald of Truth.142, 164
Periodicals, Minnesota Tidning. Footnote 167
Periodicals, Swedish-American Historical Bulletin 1929. Footnote 166
Perrin, J. Nick.....20, 23
Perry, Jean Francois.....228
Perry, (Capt.) Oliver Hazard....204
Personal and Family names..... 34
Peru, Ill. 166
Peterson, C. F. Footnotes.....
...168, 171, 172, 177, 179, 180, 182
Peterson, T. B. and Brothers, Publishers 71, 94
Peyster, Arent Schuyler de...47, 51
Philadelphia, Pa. 71, 135
Footnote 173
Phillips, (Capt.) Joseph....207, 221
Phillips, (Capt.) Joseph. Chief Justice Supreme Court State of Ill. 212
Philosophian Society 132
"Phocion" 128
Pickawillany, Ohio 47
Pickens, Israel 202
Pickens, Israel of North Carolina State 203
Pickering, (Col.) Timothy of Mass. 204
Piggott, James 190

PAGE

Pike Co., Ill.....223
Piper, Count. Swedish Minister at Washington. Footnote.....177
Pittsburgh, Ohio 50, 53, 136
Pittsburgh Treaty of 1775..... 51
Pleasants, James of Virginia State 202, 203
Plegge, E. W..... 23
Plutarch's Lives 128
Poems. Early ones by Joseph Yoder.....144, 145, 146, 147, 148
Poindexter, George 202
Poland 127
Political Parties 173
Political Parties, American Party.229
Political Parties, Anti-Nebraska Democrats 84
Political Parties, Democratic....
.....83, 84, 207, 209, 221, 222, 228
Political Parties, Democratic-Republican Party 205
Political Parties, Free Soilers....156
Political Parties, Greenback Party 210
Political Parties, Independent Democrats 156
Political Parties, Nebraska Democrats 84
Political Parties, Populist Party.210
Political Parties, Progressive Party 210
Political Parties, Prohibition Party 210
Political Parties, Republican Chicago Convention, 1860.....60, 61
Political Parties, Republican Convention, Bloomington, Ill..... 84
Political Parties, Republican National Convention 68
Political Parties, Republican Party...60, 61, 68, 81, 84, 156, 169
Political Parties, Socialist Party.210
Political Parties, Whig National Convention 83
Political Parties, Whig Party....
.....83, 84, 156, 228
Pontiac Conspiracy 47
Pontiac's Warriors 47
Pope, Nathaniel, Secretary of Illinois Territory 206, 207
Pope, Nathaniel. Secures additional counties for Northern boundaries of the State.....207
Pope Co., Ill.....208, 223
Populist Party 210
Porter, (Gen.) Peter Buel.....202
Portland, Oregon. Footnote.....139
"Position of Illinois Democracy".128
Posten, Götebords—Footnote 167

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Possum Ridge, Washington Co., Ky. Footnote..... 61
Pottowattomie Indians 51
The Prairie 121
Prairie du Chien..... 49
"Prairie of Illanoy".....124
Prairies of Illinois.....136, 137
Prärieblomman. Swedish Publication 184
Footnote 172, 173
Pratt, Eleazer Franklin..... 34
Pratt Family 34
Presbyterian Church .....
.....132, 133, 150, 197
Presidential Possibilities, by David W. Bartlett..... 60
Prickett, Abraham 224
Prince Edward Co., Va..... 32
Prindell, married Eleanor Bond.189
Progressive Party 210
Prohibition Party 210
Protestant Episcopal, Diocese of Ill. 167, 168
Pujol, (On the Kaskaskia Island) 233
Pulsifer, William Edmond..... 34
Pulsifer Family 34

Q

Quebec Act of 1774..... 49
Quebec, Canada 48, 51
Quiatanon. (Near Lafayette, Indiana) 49
Quincy, Ill. 17
Quincy, Josiah of Massachusetts.202

R

Racine, Jean Baptiste dit Marie. 48
Railroads, Grand Trunk Railway.178
Railroads, Illinois Central Railroad 178
Railroads, Lake Superior and Mississippi Railway 181
Railroads, Northern Pacific Railway 181
Rammelkamp, Charles H.....
.....3, 15, 16, 19, 20
Ranck, George W..... 30
Randolph, John. Minister to Russia 202
Randolph Co., Ill....190, 195, 199, 208, 210, 223, 226, 228, 229, 230, 233
Randolph Co., Ill. Board of Overseers of the Poor.....225
Rann, W. S..... 32
Raymond, Henry J.....70-72
Read, (Mrs.) Helen Brown..... 36
Records. Revolutionary and State, Md. 30

PAGE

Red Wing, Minn. Footnote.....180
Rees, Thomas.....3, 15, 16, 18, 20
Register of Copyrights. Footnote 64
"Regulators" 130
Reichelt, Marie Ward..... 29
Religious organizations, Friends, Christian Brethren, Dunkards.149
Report of the Committee on Genealogy 29-35
Republican Party..127, 131, 156, 169
Revolution on the Upper Ohio. Thwaites and Kellogg.....56-57
Revolutionary Soldiers' Receipts for Georgia Bounty Grants 29
Reynolds, (Governor) John.....
.....130, 133, 211, 218, 225, 231
Reynolds, John. Associate Justice, Supreme Court, State of Illinois 212
Reynolds, (Gov.) John. History of Illinois 188
Reynolds, (Gov.) John. Quoted on Shadrach Bond.....227
Reynolds, Robert 228
Reynolds, Thomas 211, 214
Rhine River 135
Richmond, Va. 29
Ride, Edward Y.....126
Ridgely, Henry Moore of Delaware 202, 203
Rigsby, L. W..... 29
Robertson, (Miss) Ann. Wife of Thomas Bond, Sr.....192
Robertson Family 34
Robertson, (Miss) Isabella. Wife of John Bond.....189
Robertson, Thomas Bolling of Louisiana State 202, 204
Robinson, Robert 226
Roche, John Jeffrey..... 65
Rocheblave, Philippe de..... 48
Rockett, Al 115
Rockett, Ray 115
Rockingham County, Virginia.... 81
Rock Creek Church.....153, 154
Rock Creek Church, Mennonite...155
Rock Island, Ill.....3, 21
Footnote 168, 169
Rock Island Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution.... 21
Rock Island County, Ill..... 21
Rock Island County Historical Society Report 21
Rock Island Co. (Ill.) Old Settlers Association 21
Rock Island Court House..... 21
Rock Island, Ill. Swedes in.....166
Rock River 55
Rock River Rangers..... 21

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Rollin's Ancient History.....128
Roney, Lila James..... 31
Roos, Herman 170, 171, 172, 173
Footnote 171
Ropp, Christian 137
Footnote 137, 145
Ropp, Edwin O. Footnote...145, 162
Ropp, (Miss) Theresa. Footnote 137
Rosenthal, (Mr.) James..... 26
Ross, Lewis W.....126
Rowell Family 137
Royal Archives in Stockholm, Sweden 184
Royal Library in Stockholm, Sweden 184
Rubenson, Mauritz. Footnote....177
Rupp, I. Daniel..... 31
Rushville, Schuyler County, Ill.. 20
Rusk, (Professor) 119
Russel, Andrew 3, 20
Russia. Randolph, John. Minister to Russia.....202
Rutherford, Larkin 190

S

Sackville, Lord 56
Sac or Sauk Indians..... 56
Saline lands. Ohio Saline in Gallatin Co., Ill.....225
Salley, A. S. Jr..... 32
"Sallskapet Svea." Swedish Social Club 173
Sandburg, Carl 76, 115, 116
Sandebudet. Swedish Methodist Paper 170
Footnote 181
Sanders, George N..... 24
Sandvall, John 178
Sanford, (Rev.) Enoch..... 31
Sangamon Co., Ill.....20, 82, 223, 224
Sangamon Co., Ill. Chautauqua Association 20
Sangamon Co., Ill. Old Settlers' Association 20
Savanna, Ill. Story of..... 30
Savidge, Hill 189
Scandinavian Aid Society... 177
Scandinavian Emigrant Agency 182, 183
Scheel, John 129, 130
Schenectady Co., N. Y.....128
Schermerhorn, William E..... 31
Schmidt, (Dr.) Otto L..... .....3, 15, 17, 20, 25, 36
Schmidt, Otto L. President Illinois State Historical Society 3, 15, 20
Schnapp, (Miss) Margaret Katherine 28
Schoefield, John 126
Schoharie, N. Y.....128, 129
Schon, Anders. Footnote.....172
Schuyler Co., Ill.....20, 22
Schuyler Co., Ill. Historical Society Report. By Howard F. Dyson 22
Scioto River 55
Scotch and Irish traders in the Old Northwest 48
Scott, E. H..... 27
Scott, (Miss) Elizabeth. Wife of Thomas Bond Jr.....192
Scott, F. W. Newspapers and Periodicals of Ill. 1814-1879. Footnote 169
Scott, Franklin William.....235
Scott, (Gen.) Winfield..... 83
Scrap Book. Joseph Yoder.....142
Footnote 152
Scripps, John Locke..... .....61, 62, 64, 66, 70, 89, 91
Searle, S. W..... 21
Sears, David 21
Seattle, Wash. 195
Footnote 173
Seaver, J. Montgomery.....33, 34
"Secession" 130
Selby, (Mrs.) Paul..... 27
Semple, (Gen.) James.....190
Senatorial Campaign 1858.....157
Seneca Indians 51
Sentinel, (The) Newspaper.....128
Seven Ages of Lincoln Biography 63
Severance, Henry Ormal..... 34
Severance Family 34
Sevier, (Gen.) John of Tennessee State 202, 204
Seward, William H.....60, 61, 64, 68
Footnote 65
Shakespeare, William 140
Shaman. Eskimo Medicine Man. 40
Sharp, Abia J. Footnote.....139
Shawanese Indians 51
Shawnee Indians 49, 55
Shawnee Indians. Cornstalk, Chief 53
Shawneetown, Gallatin Co., Ill... .....210, 215
Shawneetown, Ill. State Bank of 127
Shelburne, Lord 55, 56
Sheldon, Chief Justice.....134
Sheldon, G. 31
Shelton, F. W.....121

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Shepardson, Francis W.....105
Sherman, Lawrence Y.....3, 20
Sherman, (Gen.) William Tecumseh 196
Shields, (Gen.) James..... 84
Shields, (Judge) James.....130, 133
Sibley, Solomon 191
Siedenburg, Frederic S. J...3, 19, 20
Siggenauk or Black Bird..... 54
Simms, William Gilmore.....124
Simons, Menno. West Friesland. German Reformer 139
Simpson, John 130
Simpson, R. W..... 32
Sinnett, Charles N..... 30
Sioux Indians 54
Skarstedt, Ernst 184
Footnote 173, 174
Skinner, Onias C.....126
Slabtown, Ill. Extinct.....137
Slabtown, Ill. Extinct was early settlement of the Mennonites...136
Slade, Charles 207, 217
Slavery 156, 222, 223, 232
Slavery. Anti-slavery and pro-slavery candidates aspire to Governorship of Illinois.....221
Slavery. Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach liberates his slaves.....193
Slavery. Bond, (Gov.) Shadrach opposed to slavery.....228
Slavery. Debates on early days in Illinois 210
Slavery. Illinois State, attempt to make a slave state of 1824 .....187, 228
Slavery. Ordinance of 1787.227, 228
Smaland. Swedish Province.....173
Smith, D. E. Huger..... 32
Smith, DeWitt 27
Smith, Elizabeth 132
Smith, George W. 3, 20
Smith, H. P. 32
Smith. (Dr.) Henry. History of Mennonites in America.....154
Footnote 149
Smith, James 132
Smith, Jedediah 119
Smith, Theophilus. Washington 217, 224
Snider, (Mrs.) Olive Oglesby..... 26
Snyder, A. W.....133
Snyder, Adam 129
Snyder, William H.....126, 133
Socialist Party 210
Society. Manners and Politics in the United States.....122
Söderberg, Charles 179

PAGE
Soule, (Mrs.) 124
South Carolina State..... .....32, 202, 203, 204
South Carolina State. Death Notices 32
South Carolina State. Historic Camden 32
South Carolina State. History of Old Pendleton District..... 32
South Carolina State. Marriage Notices 32
South Carolina State. Old Jewish Cemeteries at Charleston..... 32
South Carolina State. Register of St. Philip's Parish..... 32
South Carolina State. Warrants of lands 32
"Southern Illinois" 128
Spain. Posts on the Mississippi.. 48
Spangler, Electa Ball..... 29
Spanish Traders 55
Sparks, Edwin Erle.....235
Spencer Co., Ind..... 82
Springfield, Ill. 21, 22
Squires, W. A. T..... 32
Stanford, Joshua R..... 25
Stanley, Henry M..... 44
Stansberry, (Miss) Elizabeth. Wife of William Bond.....192
Stanton, Edward 24
Stark Co. Ill..... 20
Starr, J. B.....193
State Banks of Illinois.....127
State Constitutional Convention..126
State Historical Library.....132
State Historical Society..... 21
State of Illinois. Early Marriage Records 29
Statutes of 1874.....132
"Statutes of Illinois Construed"..132
Stay-Law. Passed by the second General Assembly, State of Illinois 216
Steamboat. "Belle of the West"..136
Footnote 136
Steeleville, Randolph Co., Ill.195, 196
Stefansson, Vilhjalmur. Arctic explorer 40
Stephen, Adam 50
Stephens, Alexander H..... 60
Stephenson, (Col.) Benjamin of Edwardsville, Ill. 205
Stephenson, (Prof.) George M.... 36
Stephenson, George M. Documents relating to Peter Cassel and the settlement in New Sweden, Iowa. Footnote.....166

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Stephenson, George M. The stormy years of the Swedish colony in Chicago before the Great Fire 166, 184
Stephenson, Nathaniel Wright... 75
Stevens, Wm. B..... 31
Stevenson, Mary. Wife of Richard Bond Sr.....189
Stevenson, Tenn. 196
St. Ansgarius. Swedish Church.. .....167, 168, 173
Footnote 168
St. Clair Co., Ill..... 20, 126, 128, 129, 130, 133, 190, 191, 192, 199, 206, 208, 223, 225, 228
St. Clair Co., Ill. Historical Association Report 23
St. Gaudens, Augustus..... 78
St. Genevieve, Mo. 200
St. Lawrence River 54
St. Louis, Mo. 48, 136, 194, 195, 196, 198, 207, 215 229
St. Louis Plow Works.....178
St. Paul, Minn. 175
Footnote 167, 174
Stockholm, Sweden. Footnote... .....166, 168, 173, 177
Stockholm, Sweden. Royal Archives 184
Stockholm, Sweden. Royal Library 184
Stockton, Richard of New Jersey State 204
Stone, Letta Brock..... 34
Stormy years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the great fire (The), by George M. Stephenson 166, 184
Story, (Judge) Joseph.....127
Stout, (Mr.) W. S..... 26
Stout's Grove near Danvers, Ill...157
Footnote 143
Stribling, T. S..... 42
Strickler, Harry M..... 32
Strong, William 204
Strong, William of Vermont.....202
Strubhar, John 153
Stuart, Alonzo. Duel with William Bennett 1819.....218
Stuart, Charles. Portrait painter 198, 203
Stubbs, (Dr. and Mrs.) William Carter 33
Stuckey, (Rev.) Joseph.....154, 155
Sun, The 127
Sundelius, P. A. Editor of Hemlandet 171
Footnote 171

PAGE

Svea Library 173
Svea, Sällskapet 183
Svea Society 174, 177
Svea, Sweden 173
Svedberg, A. 184
Svenska Amerikanaren. Swedish Publication 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 179, 180, 183
Footnotes 172, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183
Svenska Minnesota Bladet. Swedish Publication. Footnote.....180
Svenska Monitoren. Swedish Publication 175, 176
Footnotes 175, 176
Svenska. National Biblioteket. Swedish Publication. Footnote.172
Svenska tidningar och tidskrifter utgifna inom Nord-Amerikas etc. Swedish Publication.....184
Swanwick, Francis. Married to Julia Rachel Bond.....194
Swanwick, William 194
Swanzy, A..... 27
Sweden 167, 168, 171, 172, 173, 174, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 184
Swedes, Bibliography on.....184
Swedes. Norelius, Erik. History of the Swedes in America.....168
Swedes. Olson, E. W. History of The Swedes in Illinois. Footnote 168
Swedish-America. Chicago the Metropolis of 166
Swedish-American Historical Bulletin. Feb. 1929. Footnote....166
Swedish-American Newspapers...184
Swedish-Americans 175
Swedish Chicago Colony.....181
Swedish Commercial Company... .....178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183
Footnote 178
Swedish Congregations 174
Swedish Consuls 177
Swedish Emigration Society.....180
Swedish Historical Society of America 184
Swedish Lutheran Church..... .....167, 171, 173
Swedish Lutheran Publication Society 169
Footnote 169
Swedish Lutheranism 169
Swedish Men's Christian Association 181
Swedish National Church. Footnote 168
Swedish Newspapers. Footnote..170

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE
Swedish Riksdag 171
Swedish State Church.....172
Sweeney, (Mrs.) Grace R..... 21
Sweeney, Thos. W..... 22
Sweeney, (Mrs.) William Jackson 28
Swenson, "Boston" 180
Swerige Och Amerika (Jonkoping). Footnote 181
Switzerland 136, 180

T

Taft, Lorado 79
Talbott, (Rev.) Early minister in Ill. 193
Tallmadge, (Gen.) Benjamin of Conn 202, 204
Tarbell, (Miss) Ida M..... 74
"Taxation and Representation"...128
Taylor, (Miss) Clemency. Wife of Benjamin Bond.....189
Taylor, John W. of New York State 204
Temple, J. H..... 31
Tennessee State .....
45, 179, 192, 202, 203, 204, 209, 222
Footnote 61
Tennessee State, Dayton..... 45
Tenney Family 34
Teologisk Tidskriff. Swedish Publication 184
Territorial laws of Indiana..... 25
Territorial Legislative Council...200
Texas State. Austin, Texas.....139
Thayer, William M.....70, 94
Thomas, James W..... 30
Thomas, Jesse Burgess.....
.....199, 208, 212, 220
Thomas, John. Treasurer of the State of Illinois.....212, 220
Thompson, Charles Manfred.....235
Thomson, (Rev.) Maynard.....197
Thrane, Marcus 175, 183
Thronberg, E. H. Footnote.....166
Thwaites and Kellogg. Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio..... 57
Thwaites and Kellogg. Revolution on the Upper Ohio..... 56
Tiffin, (Rev.) Edward.....190
Tippu-Tib. A Congo Chief..... 44
Tocqueville, Alexis de.....122
Todd, (Gov.) John. Illinois Country 54
Todd, Mary 58
Townsend, W. A..... 91
Traits of American Humor.....124
Translvania Colony, Ky..... 49
Traylor, Jacob L..... 30

PAGE
Treache, (Mrs.) Daughter of Jesse Fell. Footnote..... 62
Trollope, (Mrs.) Frances Milton
.....121, 122
Troup, George McIntosh of Georgia 204
Trumbull, George 133
Trumbull, Lyman 84, 133
Trumbull and Underwood, law firm 132
Truth Telling a difficult and dangerous art. Albert Britt....39, 46
Tucker, (Mrs.) Edna..... 21

U

Underwood, Amy 128
Underwood, Aristides 128
Underwood, Diana 128
Underwood, Demosthenes 128
Underwood, Joseph 128, 133
Underwood, Minerva 128
Underwood, Themistocles 128
Underwood, William 128
Underwood, (Judge) William Henry 36, 126, 134
Union Co., Ill.....208, 223
Union Pacific Land.....179
United States 180
United States Army.....201
United States Congress.....
.....79, 83, 190, 202
United States Congress, May 25, 1776. Resolves that it is highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United Colonies 52
United States Congress. Twelfth Congress known as War Congress 203
United States Congress. Twelfth and Thirteenth Congress..205, 206
United States Congress. Thirteenth Congress 203, 204
United States Congress. Thirteenth Congress. Important Acts passed 204
United States, Constitution of..40, 91
United States Constitution. Nineteenth Amendment 159
United States Constitutional Convention 1787 41
United States Regulars..... 21
United States Supreme Court....
.....79, 204
Unionias, Gustaf ...166, 167, 168, 170
Footnote 168
Urbana, Ill. 3, 20

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

V

Vadakin, (Miss) Diamond..... 36
Vaile, E. O..... 21
Valkyrian. Swedish Publication.184
Footnotes ...172, 177, 179, 180, 182
Valpy, R. D. D., F. A. S.....140
VanBuren, Martin 128
Vance Prairie, McLean Co., Ill...139
Van Cortland, Pierre of New York State 202
Vandalia, Ill. 221
Vandalia, (Fayette Co.,) Ill. Capital of Ill.....215, 226
Vandalia, Ill. Second Capital of the State located in.....213
Velie, W. L..... 27
Verlie, Emil Joseph.....236
Vermont State 32, 202, 204
Vermont State. Hardwick Town Records 32
Vermont State. Rutland Co. History 32
Vermont State. Westfield Town Records to 1860..... 32
Versailles, Ill. 137
Vicksburg, Miss 196
Victor, Orville James..... 93
Vincennes, Ind. 17, 48, 227
Vincennes. Capture of Henry Hamilton 55
Vincennes, Ind. Territorial General Assembly in.....199
Vincennes, Ind. Territorial General Assembly, Feb. 7, 1805. Convened in 191
Vintersol. Swedish Publication..184
Virgil 140
Virginia, Ill. 20
Virginia State.....32, 33, 68, 81, 130, 189, 190, 192, 202, 203, 204, 212
Virginia State. British-Man-of War off the coast of Va..... 50
Virginia State. Days of Yester-Year in Colony and Commonwealth 32
Virginia State. House of Burgesses appoint a commission to negotiate with the Western Indians 50
Virginia State. Magazine of History and Biography Vol. XIV.. 56
Virginia State. Marriage License Bonds of Westmoreland Co..... 32
Virginia State. Old Surry..... 33
Virginia State. Prince Edward Co. 32
Virginia State. Rockingham Co.. 68

PAGE

Virginia State. Rockingham Co., Marriages 32
Virginia State. West Augusta... 49
Virginians 53
Vital Records of Rawley, Mass.. 31
Volk, Leonard W..... 78
Vose, Reuben 65, 66, 69, 70, 88

W

Wabash River.....48, 55, 219
Waerner, Ninian 184
Waite, Otis P. R..... 31
Walker, Thomas 50
Waller, Elbert. Resolution on Fort Kaskaskia 19
Walnut Grove, Woodford Co., Ill..136
Ward, Artemas, Jr., of Massachusetts State 204
Wark, (Rev.) William Orr.....197
War of 1812.....121, 201, 206, 221
War of 1812. June 19, 1812. Congress, United States, declares war against Great Britain.....201
War of 1812. Preservation of Flags, Standards and Colors captured by the land or naval forces 204, 205
War of the Rebellion.....127
Footnote 136
War of the Rebellion, Fifteenth Army Corps 196
War of the Rebellion, Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech 114
War of the Rebellion, Lookout Mt. Battle 196
War of the Rebellion, Missionary Ridge Battle 196
War of the Rebellion, Missouri—27th Reg. 15th Army Corps Missouri Volunteers 197
War of the Rebellion, Missouri, Twenty-seventh Vol. Inf.....196
War of the Revolution.....
.....55, 136, 190, 191, 231
War of the Revolution. Kellogg, Louise Phelps. Indian Diplomacy during the Revolution in the West 47-57
Warren, Ill. 30
Warren, Ill. History of..... 30
Warren, Raymond H.....116
Washington Co., Ill.....208, 223
Washington County, Kentucky. Footnote 61
Washington, D. C.....
.....3, 74, 201, 202, 218, 222, 229
Washington, D. C. Grand Review, 1865 196

INDEX—Continued.

PAGE

Washington, (Gen.) George.....42, 56, 127
Washington, Iowa 162
Footnote 138
Washington, Philip 189
Washington State, Bellingham, Whatcom Co. 196
Washington State, Seattle, Wash.195
Washington State, Whatcom Co..196
Watson, Alexander William. Marries Eliza Lucretia Bond.....195
Watson, Alexander Wilson.....195
Watson, (Miss) Hester.....229
Wayne Co., Ill.....214, 223
Wayne Co., Ohio.....153
Wayne, Maine 30
Weaver. History of the Central Conference of Mennonites. Footnote 155
Weaver. Mennonite Year Book, 1927. Footnote 136
Weaver, (Rev.) William B. Quoted on Joseph Joder.....154
Weber, Jessie Palmer.....132, 236
Weber, Jessie Palmer. Alphabetical Catalogue of books in Illinois State Historical Library..235
Weber, (Mrs.) Jessie Palmer. A Memorial to 16, 18
Webster, (Miss) Alice Ann, wife of John Bond.....192
Webster, Daniel .24, 85, 127, 204, 205
Weed, Thurlow 61
Weems, (Parson) Mason Locke.. 45
Wehle, Gotlieb 123
Weik, Jesse W.....73, 103
Weir, James 124
Weldon, Lincoln 3, 20
Wells, Henry W.....126
Wendling, George R.....126
West, Edward Wm.....133
West Family 34
West Augusta, Va.....49, 50
West Chester, Penn..... 61
Western Clearings 123
Westfield Town Records to 1860, Vermont 32
Wheeling, Ohio 55
Whig Party 83, 84, 156, 228
White, Enoch 34
White, Horace 73, 103
White Family 34
White Co., Ill.....208, 223
White Eyes, (Capt.) of the Delaware Indians 53
White Oak Grove, Poem on, by Joseph Joder 146-148, 151
White Oak Grove, Woodford Co., Ill. 137

PAGE

White River 54
Whitehouse, Bishop 172
Footnote 172
Whitman, Walt. Leaves of Grass 65
Whittier, John Greenleaf..... 114
"Who's Who" 77
Widgery, William of Massachusetts 202
Wieselgren, Peter 171
Wieselgren. Footnote 172
Wieselgren Correspondence 184
Will County, Ill. 18
William the Silent. Court of Nassau and Prince of Orange..... 45
Williams, (Gen.) David Rogerson of South Carolina.....202
Williams, T. J. C..... 30
Williamsburg, Va. 50
Williamson County 130
Williamson, David Brainerd..... 71
Williamson, James Brainerd..... 94
Williamson, Passmore 81
Willis. Married Margaret Bond..192
Wilson, Blueford 15
Wilson, Caroline Prue 29
Wilson, Henry 60
Wilson, James 50
Wilson, (Gen.) James Harrison.. 15
Wilson, William 217
Winborne, Benj. B..... 31
Wingate, R. F.....133
Winnebago Indians 54
Wisconsin Indians 55
Wisconsin River 55
Wisconsin State 54, 85, 166, 217
Wisconsin State Historical Collections. Vols. XI, XVIII..... 57
Wisconsin State Historical Collections. Vol. XVIII..... 56
Wisconsin State Historical Library 57
Wise, Henry A..... 60
Wise, (Miss) Sophie.....229
Wolfe, (Gen.) 48
Woman's Suffrage 158, 210
Wood, Capt.) James..... 50
Wood, (Col.) John.....229
Woodford Co., Ill.....136, 137, 146
Footnote 137
World War 75, 113, 114
World War. Bryce Commission Report 41
World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893 233
Worthington, Thomas 190
Wright, Will 133
Wyandott Indians 50, 51
Wyman (Major) John B.....24

INDEX—Concluded.

PAGE

Y

"Yankees" 129
Yates, (Hon.) Richard....3, 20, 133
Yoder, (Joder) Barbara.....135, 141
Yoder, Christian 135
Yoder, David 135, 136
Yoder, Elias 136
  Footnote 136
Yoder, Emma 138
Yoder, Isaac H. Footnote.....136
Yoder, (Rev.) Jonathan.150, 153, 154
  Footnote 136
Yoder, Joseph. Early poems.....
.....144, 145
  Footnote 142
Yoder, Joseph. New York Newspaper correspondent quoted on.154
Yoder, Joseph. Poems, early ones
.....142, 148, 151, 152
Yoder, Joseph. Poems in English and German 143
Yoder, Joseph. Spiritual and forceful poems 151
Yoder, Mary 138
Yoder, Miriam 138
Yoder, Solomon. Footnote.....142
Yoder, Yost 136
Yoder changing of name to Joder.141
Young, Justice 130
Young, Richard Montgomery.....
.....215, 217

Z

Zumpt, C. G.....140

71891